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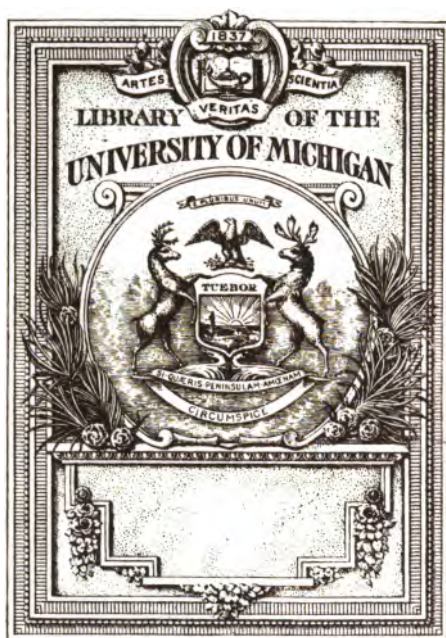
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SARDINIA IN ANCIENT TIMES

BY

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"SPAIN UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE," "SYRIA AS
A ROMAN PROVINCE"

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SARDINIA IN ANCIENT TIMES

INTRODUCTION

THE features of interest presented by a small and poor province necessarily differ from those of one of the great and profitable dependencies of Rome.

ERRATA.

- p. 22, *for αἰρῶ read αἰρῶν.*
- p. 55, note 1, *for Paraem read Paroem.*
- p. 75, last line, *insert 3 before footnote.*
- p. 104, note 1, *for Servius read Seuius.*
- p. 109, note 3, *for 13 read 30.*
- p. 148, line 12, *for 580 read 590.*
- p. 181, last line of first paragraph, *for paleontologia read paletnologia.*
- p. 182, first line of second paragraph, *for mediaevale read medioevale.*

primitive civilization of which the architectural and artistic remains are numerous and varied, for the flourishing Phœnician colonies which fringed the southern and western shores during several centuries, and for the proof here given of the stimulating and consolidating effect of Roman rule even amidst unpromising surroundings. Nor are the islanders



SARDINIA IN ANCIENT TIMES

INTRODUCTION

THE features of interest presented by a small and poor province necessarily differ from those of one of the great and profitable dependencies of Rome. No literary school had its origins in Sardinia, no line of emperors; nor did any religious or other influences extend from here over the Roman world. From the end of the Punic wars down to the Vandal conquest the military history is uneventful, and the archæological remains are so far from imposing that the recent historian of the Roman municipal system remarks: 'No possessions ever held by Rome show to-day so few traces of her ascendancy.'

Yet Sardinia merits the attention which has been paid by Italian and other archæologists, alike for the primitive civilization of which the architectural and artistic remains are numerous and varied, for the flourishing Phœnician colonies which fringed the southern and western shores during several centuries, and for the proof here given of the stimulating and consolidating effect of Roman rule even amidst unpromising surroundings. Nor are the islanders

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themselves unworthy of study. The builders of the great fortresses and sepulchres, the designers of the quaint bronze figures, animals, and votive ships, were not mere savages. They had an invincible love of freedom, and for centuries withstood vastly superior armies, displaying a martial spirit which has again characterized the Sardinian regiments in the struggle to redeem their countrymen from Austrian oppression. Even when sold in gangs in the Roman slave-market, they maintained their fierce and unbending demeanour. In the Middle Ages their local republics were among the few examples of that type of government then in existence. Lastly, Sardinia, the only remnant of free Italy during the Napoleonic régime, gave its name to the kingdom which, when foreign and domestic tyrants had been expelled, was to embrace the entire nation.

For the philologist the island dialect has a special interest, as preserving many Latin forms and words less corrupted than Rome or even Florence itself.

Sardinian history was first put on something of a scientific basis by Manno (1826), and some twenty years later the travels of La Marmora led to the identification of a great number of Roman sites, and the cataloguing of the remains of antiquity of various kinds. The enthusiastic Canon Spano, editor of the local magazine, *Bulletino Archeologico Sardo*, for many years carried on the same study. Nearly 600 Latin inscriptions were ready for the tenth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latin-*

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arum (1883). This number has been greatly increased by subsequent discoveries, embodied for the most part in the *Notizie dei Scavi*, and Phœnician inscriptions have received close attention. It is unnecessary to dwell on the labours of Pais, Patroni, Nissardi, Pinza, Taramelli, and other Italians, besides representatives of the British School at Rome. The prehistoric remains have been carefully examined and photographed, and a civilization has been brought to light contemporaneous with that of the Mycenæan peoples, and apparently possessing some trade relations with them. Whether this civilization was Asiatic, African, or Iberian, is still disputed; and as only the conclusion of a trained archæologist is of any weight, I have refrained from expressing a definite opinion. The most probable view is, perhaps, that Sardinia was colonized by a succession of immigrants from Africa, who had been previously brought into contact with the Eastern Mediterranean races, while the strong Iberian tradition may be due to early connections with the rich commercial tribe of Tartessians who occupied Southern Spain. The balance of authority is now rather against the identification of the Shardina (a body of mercenaries who fought at first against and afterwards in the pay of Rameses II. of Egypt in the fourteenth century B.C.) with the Sardinians, either before or after their settlement in the island. Their costume and arms are clearly portrayed in extant Egyptian monuments, but do not closely resemble those of the Sardinian bronzes.

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For the historic period our information is scanty, especially when, after the close of the Second Punic War, Sardinia ceased to have much strategic importance; and under the Empire its history is largely a blank. Inscriptions and excavations of buildings have done something to prove that the coast districts were then the seats of active commercial and mining populations, with public and private edifices of some size and beauty, and that the arts were well developed. I have carried the narrative down to about A.D. 600, a period when the letters of Pope Gregory the Great, who completed the evangelizing of the island, illustrate the working of Byzantine administration in a province which long remained the most westerly outpost of the imperial realms.

It is, perhaps, worth recalling how certain patriotic islanders, believed to be connected with Oristano, dissatisfied with the scanty record of Roman times, towards the middle of the last century produced a number of pseudo-mediaeval chronicles and poems in Latin or the Sard dialect. This collection, named the *Codici di Arborea*, from the title of a mediaeval judgeship in the territory of which they professed to originate, was published in a splendid quarto volume with facsimiles in 1863, and vitiated much of the historical work of that era. Sardinian poets and historians of the Roman age were then first made known, unexpected light was thrown on the buildings and antiquities of various cities, and from the seventh

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century of our era the island was proved to have been the seat of an advanced culture, with its own art, poetry, and history. Only in 1870 did a committee of the Berlin Academy definitely establish the worthlessness of these productions, with which some real mediæval legal papers had been cleverly mixed up.

To turn to other deceptions: the early bronze figures began to attract the attention of art students before the end of the eighteenth century, and the Phœnician images, as they were then thought to be, were eagerly sought after by amateurs, so much so that a considerable trade grew up in forged figures. These are distinguishable by their abstruse symbolism and distorted proportions. Genuine figures are coarsely and ignorantly executed, but are not intentionally grotesque, and do not, for example, show additional heads on the breasts or shoulders, or necks shaped like a snake. Many of the forgeries are still in existence, and it is little over thirty years since a number were removed from the museum of Cagliari, the chief repository for island antiques.

The discovery of supposed relics of local saints and martyrs, and the composition of legends concerning them, go farther back, and were especially prevalent in the seventeenth century, when the paucity of trustworthy information about the early Church came to be realized.

In this sketch I have avoided controversial subjects, and the chapter on the Prehistoric Age is

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little but a description of some of the chief classes of antiques. The early history of the Mediterranean world is only slowly being evolved, and the place occupied by Sardinia cannot be regarded as certain. For the Punic and Roman periods I have alluded to most of the recorded historical events, noticing some of the more important inscriptions, and describing a few works of art. On Church history I have said little, except as an illustration of conditions under the later empire.

In the footnotes, a number without any prefix refers to the inscriptions in the second part of the tenth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, edited by Mommsen; N. S., to the *Notizie dei Scavi*, an archaeological magazine published monthly by the Roman Accademia dei Lincei.

I have again to thank Mr. W. G. Kendrew, M.A., for kindly designing a map.

CHAPTER I

THE PREHISTORIC AGE

'Condere cœperunt urbes, arcemque locare
Præsidium reges ipsi sibi perfugiumque.'

LUCRETIVS.

BEFORE considering the history and civilization of Sardinia in ancient times, it may be desirable, without entering on a technical discussion of the remains of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, to give a short description of the principal classes of early monuments, adding a few conclusions as to the social state of the people to whom they were due.

The most striking artificial feature in the landscape is the series of conical towers with accessory buildings, often 60 feet in height when complete, known as *nuraghi*. Notwithstanding the use of many of them as quarries by neighbouring villagers, they still number between three and four thousand, suggesting a large but scattered population in early times.

The towers were sufficiently conspicuous to attract the attention of Greek travellers before the Roman occupation, and by them they were attributed to the legendary Greek settlers Iolaus and Dædalus.¹ Such buildings, there used as storehouses, were

¹ [Arist.] *Mirab. Ausc.* 100; Diod. IV. 29.

Position of the Nuraghi

observed by the Greeks on the coast of Africa;¹ and very similar structures occur in the Balearic Islands. There they are reached by outside stairs, and are known as *talayotes*, a corruption of the Hispano-Moorish *atalaya*, 'watch-tower.' The most likely derivation of *nuraghe* itself is from the Phoenician *nur*, 'fire,' the Punic settlers having either compared the forts to their own beacon-towers, or found that, despite the gradual disappearance of the nuraghi population, they were used by the natives for purposes of signalling.

The towers are almost always strongly placed, sometimes on an artificial mound or on a hill or bluff commanding a wide prospect, out of reach of floods, yet near to water-supplies, and in sight of neighbouring nuraghi.

Each was surrounded by a plot of ground sufficient for the support of a family; and, round about, litters of artificially broken stones with remains of tools and vessels point to the existence of a dependent hamlet, not built strongly enough to resist the ravages of time.

Some, probably the oldest, were placed high enough to supervise whole districts, and they give the impression of being the homes and fortresses of an invading race, pressing up from the south and west among the earlier cave and hut dwellers, but never very firmly established in the wildest mountain districts of the east midlands, or in the almost isolated mass to the north-east, now known as Gallura.

¹ Diod. III. 49.

Construction and Ground-Plan

The plan resembles that of the round hut, with roof of branches and mud, and a central hearth, still in use; but the fierce and continuous winds which prevail over much of the island, and check both animal and vegetable development, led to the enclosing of the top of the nuraghe in a thick cone of stone, which occurs in abundance in most parts. Later, as more space was required, one or even two upper stories were added, and, perhaps owing to threats from foreign naval powers, a more definitely military form was given by the addition of various outworks, entry towers, etc.

Nuraghi were usually built of unhewn stones laid dry, the spaces between filled up with earth, or, in later examples, of stones roughly dressed on one side with bronze instruments. The roof was mostly vaulted, sometimes of wood or earth. An outer door led to a corridor, from which on one side, usually the left, a staircase in the thickness of the wall gave access to the upper stories. At the end of the corridor was a round central apartment, unlighted except from the door, from which on the other three sides opened small rooms or store cupboards in the thickness of the wall. The upper rooms, where found, are enclosed by thinner walls than the basement, the tower usually battering considerably; and they stand over both the central and the side apartments, receiving light from loop-holes. The building terminated in a truncated cone surrounded by a gallery.

Much more intricate plans are sometimes come

Interior of the Towers

upon, and a building such as the one described might be treated like a mediæval keep, and be surrounded by an enclosed courtyard having a series of bastions and towers along the curtain wall. Sometimes the entry of the main tower is several feet above the ground-level, being no doubt reached by wooden stairs; elsewhere it could be closed with a stone slab. The corridor leading from here to the central chamber was so narrow that two or three men could repel an army. A niche in the hollow of the wall just within the doorway probably sheltered a sentinel, and the defence of the upper floors was facilitated by the use of steep narrow stairs with a high first step.

Various recesses for stores and arms are constructed about the gloomy central chamber, and there are occasionally stone seats projecting from the wall, and traces of a domestic altar. The upper floors, which were probably the ordinary residence of the chief's family, were lighted, and had hearths at the centre with a smoke-hole in the roof above.

Bronze figures of the types to be referred to below occur among the nuraghi, and a crucible for working them has been found in one of these early settlements. There are also many flint and obsidian instruments, and ashes containing remnants of food once prepared at the hearth. The earliest type of nuraghe apparently coincided with the later Neolithic Age, and Neolithic weapons and tools remained in use after the art of working metals had become familiar.

Character of the Civilization

A stronghold on a different plan at Nossiu has been conjectured to be a true village communal fortress, in a district where feudal rule had been supplanted by some republican form of government. The description corresponds curiously to an English or Welsh Edwardian castle. The nuraghe has a square citadel with a massive circular tower at each angle; and enclosed in this an open space from which the four towers could be reached, with a doorway in each curtain wall to enable troops retreating from outside readily to enter the castle. There are without traces of a further wall, and within of several round stone huts.

These chains of forts suggest a peculiar form of landownership, the soil being presumably subdivided among a number of petty chiefs in close alliance with one another. Their rule extended to the sea, and they had some commerce with the Eastern Mediterranean. Votive ships are found in some of the forts, and there are remains of marine animals used for food, shell necklaces, amber (evidently brought by sea), and blocks of copper with Ægean stamps. Many of the earlier bronze and stone figures have close analogies in Cretan finds. Whether we can regard these primitive Sards as themselves a maritime people, or merely as possessing trade relations with the prehistoric Greek world, is still uncertain.

Some of the most characteristic of these early settlements are placed on rocky plateaux, locally called *giaras*, as at Serri and Gesturi. The latter

Fortified Hills

place, a basaltic islet with promontories, almost enclosed by rivers, has no less than seventeen nuraghi along its edges, in some cases reached by easily defensible staircases cut in the rock. The plateau was thus in the nature of a fortified camp, and, though some of the slopes could be cultivated, it was probably primarily a citadel in which the inhabitants of the neighbouring plain could take refuge, and where their valuables were stored. At Serri the fortifications are still more elaborate, with rough basalt walls filling up gaps in the natural defences, and forming a projecting angle where the brow of the cliff curves. Such settlements include traces of workshops with stone implements, knives and arms, also reservoirs and religious shrines, two of which will be described in another chapter.

The two main classes of *tombs* are apparently coeval with the nuraghi. They are rock-hewn sepulchres in two or more chambers, popularly known as *domus de gianas*, 'witches' houses'; and the *tumbas de sos gigantes*, a later development probably used mainly for the chiefs and their families, and lying in close juxtaposition to the nuraghi.

Of the rock tombs there are two principal varieties: a circular chamber with a concave roof, preceded by a short rectangular corridor; and a rectangular chamber with flat roof, also reached by a corridor. The inner room has lateral niches for the bodies, and is usually reached by a doorway closed with a slab. The corridor has at the outer

Rock Tombs

end a similar but larger doorway with a slab fitting into grooves, and often sheltered by a projection in the rock above. Other variations occur, and the inner chamber sometimes gives access to two or more other round or square rooms. The hewing of the rock seems to have been performed with strong axes of stone, but metal articles are often found within, suggesting that the tombs continued in use for several generations.

Dolmen tombs, consisting of rectangular chambers enclosed by slabs which were placed edgewise in the ground and support the roof, are less common than in Corsica. There is a good example at Birori, near Macomer, where there are seven large stones over a yard high, with a horizontal covering slab of unworked lava. Such monuments are easily displaced, and they were probably once numerous, and provided the starting-point for the giants' tombs, which rank among the most striking pre-historic relics.

The giants' tomb consists essentially of a prolongation of this dolmen chamber or cell, so as to terminate in an apse. The side-walls are mostly formed of coursed masonry inclining inwards, and the roof is a series of covering slabs buried under earth, but capable of being removed for additional interments. By an extension of the walls forwards and outwards a semicircular space is formed. The doorway of the tomb usually faces south, and is filled with a slab, often panelled in relief. In some cases there are in addition traces of a curved wall

Giants' Tombs—Sacred Pillars

joining the points of the semicircular area, so that an enclosed open space was provided for ritual observances, and of another wall enclosing the entire monument. The length of the cell varies, but it is often 30 to 40 feet, with an average breadth of just over a yard, and bodies were placed within in a squatting position. Outside the enclosure have been found examples of rough stone circles, perhaps the foundations of mounds used by the poor as burial-places.

The general plan of the giants' tombs is more consistent than that of the nuraghi, and it seems unknown outside the island. In Spain there are analogies, but there the cell is round instead of long and straight.

Various sacred pillars are found in proximity to such tombs, occasionally showing an attempt, as by the cutting of breasts on the surface, to give them a roughly human form. In some cases they may typify the deceased, and there are other traces in this prehistoric age of a betylic cult such as prevailed in surrounding countries. Such stones are sometimes placed in a circle in front of the entry to a tomb, perhaps to mark off the sepulchral area. Other vertical stone masses or menhirs, sometimes arranged in circles, occur in various parts, but most may be regarded as the work of earlier tribes which preceded the comparatively advanced builders of the nuraghi and giants' tombs.

Burials in natural caves are also frequent, but most belong to an earlier date than the nuraghi

Bronze Votive Offerings

peoples. Some good examples occur in the caverns of S. Elia and S. Bartolomeo, near Cagliari, where the arms, tools, pottery, and ornaments, are fairly representative of the culture of the later Stone Age. Caves, like that of Melida, near Iglesias, were still the ordinary habitations, as well as the burial-places of the islanders.

Without going into detail over the arms and implements found in these classes of monuments, it may be well to glance at the remarkable collection of bronzes preserved from the Bronze and early Iron Ages—that is, the last few centuries before the settlement of the Phœnicians. They are found principally in the rubbish-heaps round nuraghi and in proximity to ancient shrines. From these shrines they were apparently removed to make way for newer offerings, and stored in pits or wells, which themselves had a certain sacred character. All seem designed as votive offerings, and have either a bronze base worked in the same piece, or more often a projection at the foot which was used to attach them, by means of lead soldering, to a shelf of stone within the temple. Human figures are the commonest, about 3 inches long, with hard, sharply cut outlines, and displaying little anatomical knowledge. The body is plump and cylindrical, with large head and limbs, and the toes are separated by parallel lines. The poverty of the art contrasts with the emphasis laid on every trivial detail of accoutrement and every token of the worshipper's profession. Monstrous figures are not

Costume of the Figures

very common, but the eyes are often made very prominent, and sometimes duplicated. Some figures, too, have four arms, and several are androgynous. The horns which adorn the head-dress of certain warriors probably connect with the custom of wearing whole hides as coverings, and are not due to any identification with a bull divinity. Many figures have a short skirt, perhaps a ritual garment worn at religious ceremonies, and one hand is frequently uplifted as if in prayer. Even the armed figures are not in combatant attitude, but have the right hand outstretched, and long plaited tresses of hair falling on the chest, a fashion still observable in some parts, but unsuited for hand-to-hand fighting. More often the hair is short and parted, and the majority of the figures, unlike the *Shardina* of Egyptian monuments, are beardless. The feet are usually bare, but sometimes there are shoes or sandals fastened with straps, and gaiters, probably of leather or felt. A thick rod held by some warriors serves to denote command, and may be the emblem of a chief or prince.

The hunter is easily recognizable. He wears a dagger in front, held in place by a broad cross-belt, a low cap, a club on his back, and hooked on it a square bag with game showing. His clothing consists of a short tunic and, above, a thick, heavy cape with the hair turned inwards. An old shepherd¹ has a pointed beard, a short skirt with girdle, and a short stick in the left hand, while he leans on a

¹ *N. S.*, 1904, 291.

Equipment of Warriors

tall club with a forked head. Musicians, perhaps employed in some of the rites, are represented. Thus, we have a horn-blower with a large bull's horn,¹ and an androgynous performer playing a double flute, the figure bent back as if executing some religious dance. At Uta was found a group of two wrestlers, the one prostrate, the other leaning over him, perhaps a thank-offering from the victor.

The commonest and best examples are warriors, armed with swords, either short and broad or longer and ending in a bull's head, and often bows and arrows besides. The horned cap, probably of leather or felt, is a common feature; a double tunic girt up at the waist is worn, and the usual skirt, occasionally replaced by short drawers. There is often a double necklace, and instead of the horned head-dress sometimes a plumed cap. Many warriors have clubs and axes, and round convex shields fastened to the back, so that the hands are left free. Archers are numerous and elaborately equipped, having, for example, a square plate of metal, concave at the side, to protect the chest from pressure when the bow was drawn, and a thick armpiece, apparently of leather, attached by thongs. A glove is worn on the left hand, and the bow is shown equal in length to the entire figure. There is usually a quiver hanging from the shoulder, sometimes so small as to suggest that it contained only bronze arrowheads which could be affixed to wooden arrows when required. A small vase also carried

¹ *N. S.*, 1907, 352.

Female Figures—Animals

by the archer perhaps contained grease to lubricate the string, and he is usually protected by other weapons, as sword and knife. Horses seem to have been little used in the period, but there is a specimen of a mounted archer; and a chariot pole with a pair of wheels occurs in a miniature bronze, as also in the stone reliefs to be referred to below, pointing to the use of war-chariots.

Female figures are few. They wear mantles, sometimes drawn up in the form of a hood, a tight-fitting tunic or body, and sometimes a pleated petticoat extending to the ankles. Two of the best examples are the woman from Nuragus believed to be a priestess,¹ and the seated figure holding a male infant, either a goddess, or more likely the offerer of an ex-voto like the rest.

Weapons and animals in bronze were similarly offered, probably for success in war and hunting. Bulls in bronze are common, and there is reason for thinking that the bull was a divine symbol. Sometimes figures of animals are shown on the points of swords, or attached to a bronze spear, and pairs of animal heads are often conjoined. Stags and mouflons occur among the figures, with various birds, some perhaps ducks. Bronze boats are not uncommon, both as votive offerings and in tombs. They sometimes have animals worked on the prow, or rows of birds along the sides. There is a grilled parapet, and at the centre a loop for suspension. At the great prehistoric centre Paulilatino, one of

¹ Cf. p. 176.

Early Rock Carvings

the largest of these ships was found, about 9 inches long, the figurehead adorned with bull's horns, while along the sides are pairs of doves. In the case of ex-votos these vessels may be regarded as thank-offerings after a successful voyage, the animals being victims sacrificed on return. Those in the tombs may point to a belief in some sea or river to be crossed by the dead.

Earthenware figures are few and badly executed. Black or brown earthenware vases, sometimes displaying a slight ornamentation of dots and lines, are often found, but are clearly hand-made. Some of the later vases are of the tripod variety.

Rock carvings are scarce in the prehistoric age. A few symbols in high relief are cut in the grottos of Anghelu Ruju, near Alghero, in the north-west. In the alluvial plain opposite Sulci, in the neighbourhood of several nuraghi and giants' tombs, are two interesting groups¹ cut on blocks which both probably closed the entrances of early graves. The workmanship is childish, but the meaning is sufficiently clear. In one is a figure with outstretched arms, wearing a long tunic with wide sleeves. To the right is a quadruped, perhaps a dog, and loosely attached to this a chariot with two wheels of six spokes. The animals which draw it do not come within the picture, but there is behind the car a bar ending in a ring, perhaps to prop it up when they were removed. The sides were apparently of interlaced osiers. The other carving shows a some-

¹ *N. S.*, 1906, 78.

Degree of Development Attained

what similar car, but the wheels have eight spokes, and the pole is represented as on one side of the vehicle. Here, too, there is a human figure with rudimentary features. It may be supposed that the figures represent the persons buried, by the sides of their war-chariots.

To sum up our knowledge of the Sardinians of the Bronze Age, we have evidence of a society familiar with the casting of metals, possessed of saws, chisels, combs, gimlets, and double-bladed axes of bronze or copper. Bronze chains and plaques were used as ornaments, as well as many inheritances from earlier times, such as shell necklaces and worked boars' tusks, besides such implements as stone pestles and flint wedges. The people had some maritime trade, and may have served at times in foreign armies. They had a feudal government under a number of allied but independent chiefs. Ancestor worship probably prevailed, and burial rites were of high importance. Architectural skill was considerable, though buildings were still plain and massive. Hunting and fishing provided much of their livelihood, but domestic animals were reared.

In the remoter parts, especially towards the east and north, were less organized communities, living in caves or recesses of the forest, not necessarily very diverse in race from the nuraghi dwellers, but representing an earlier influx of settlers, probably African. The date of this nuraghi civilization may be placed from towards the end of the second

End of the Prehistoric Civilization

millennium, extending to about the seventh century B.C. Its fate is unknown. Whether from external attack or internal decay, it was already declining when Phœnician settlements began. In the area occupied by the new colonists many of the prehistoric monuments were cleared away, and Libyan serfs were brought over to till the soil. Elsewhere the old civilization lasted on for a time, and Phœnician objects found among the later nuraghi and other buildings point to a certain amount of trade between the races.

Yet the old populations never made any mark in historic times. In part they probably amalgamated with the Liby-Phœnician settlers on the coast, others joined the wild mountain tribes which long resisted the advance of the Romans. As mysterious in their origin and their civilization as the Tartessians of Spain, they, like these, failed to preserve their identity. As the savage Iberians of the interior were the typical Spaniards of the era of Roman conquest, so the intractable skin-clad Sards, who filled the Italian slave-markets, were left to represent a race which had attained a fairly high civilization when Italy was still sunk in barbarism.

CHAPTER II

LEGENDARY HISTORY—NATIVE PEOPLES

Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες· εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσι.—HERODOTUS.

It is still, perhaps, too much the tendency, when the origins of a people are unknown, to insist on any recorded immigrations and foreign settlements, and to derive the national characteristics from such colonies. This was the method of the Greeks, and our books still give much space to Iberian, Etruscan, Phœnician, or Hellenic elements in Sardinia, all of which may have existed, without exercising a lasting effect on the mass of the islanders.

It is clear that some trade relations with the Eastern Mediterranean existed, not only in Mycenæan times, but again when Greek colonization in the West was active. Whether the Greeks at this time ever obtained an actual foothold in Sardinia is disputed, but it is certain that they were established for a time in Corsica in the sixth century B.C.¹ Olbia, too, lying in an isolated position on the north-east coast of Sardinia, with its strong Greek tradition and retention of Greek artistic models, was very probably a settlement of Massiliot

¹ Hdt. I. 165.

Early Relations with Greeks

Greeks, also originating in the sixth century at a time when Phœnician influence was temporarily depressed. For some time before the Romans appeared in the island Olbia had been a possession of Carthage, and the Greeks had been expelled or absorbed. Neapolis, near Tharros on the west coast, may have been a small Greek emporium which the Carthaginians allowed the Massiliots to establish. In this district has been found an inscription in the archaic Greek of the sixth century, with two obsolete symbols and retrograde lettering;¹ and in the neighbouring cemetery of Tharros two Massiliots, perhaps brothers, are commemorated.²

Exaggerated reports of the size and fertility of Sardinia spread to the East. Not much confidence can be placed in the story that the defeated Messenians in the seventh century meditated a migration thither;³ but such a possibility was seriously considered by the Asiatic Greeks when Persian rule extended over Ionia. When Harpagus, the general of Cyrus, overthrew the Ionian cities in 545, the advice of the sage Bias of Priene was that the Ionians should migrate in a body to Sardinia, 'largest of all islands,' and found a common city, the centre of a new empire.⁴ Histiaeus gave an empty promise to reduce the island on behalf of Darius,⁵ and it was again looked on as a possible

¹ *Stud. Ital. Filol. Class.* III. 373.

² Kaibel, *Inscr. Sicil.* etc. 609-10.

³ Paus. IV. 23, 5.

⁴ Hdt. I. 170.

⁵ *Id.* V. 106.

Origin of Greek Legends

refuge for the Greeks after the failure of the Ionian revolt.¹

The alliance between Carthage and the Etruscans, which resulted in the expulsion of the Greeks from Corsica,² checked any further Hellenic enterprises, and Sardinia, except for some of the wildest districts, fell entirely into the hands of the Carthaginians. Though there was some trade with Greek lands—Greek vases, for instance, being plentiful in the Punic cemeteries—and isolated settlers may have been admitted, it is not till Roman times that Greek inscriptions or names become at all common.

It may here be convenient to gather together the chief legends relating to early Sardinia, and a translation is added of certain Greek and Latin passages dealing with them. These legends as we have them probably grew up among the Greeks of Sicily in the fourth century B.C., when there was a certain amount of trade between the two islands.³ Like Agathocles a century later, Dionysius of Syracuse, who then enjoyed a naval supremacy, may have contemplated the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sardinia, and it would thus be to the interest of the Siceliots to insist on any traditional Greek settlements in the island.

The authority from whom extant writers drew most of the material for these stories was the early third-century Sicilian historian Timæus,⁴ and other

¹ Hdt., V. 124.

² *Id.*, I. 166.

³ Diod. XIV. 63.

⁴ Cf. Polyb. XII. 4, and the discussion of Pais in *La Sardegna prima del dominio Romano*.

Authorities for Legendary History

information was derived from Ephorus, Eratosthenes, and Silenus of Calacta. The accounts of Diodorus, the pseudo-Aristotelian *de mirabilibus auscultationibus*, and Justinus, are all probably based on Timæus. Pausanias perhaps utilized a different tradition, also represented by the fragments of Sallust, and derived ultimately from Cato's *Origines* and the *Annals* of Ennius; but the close acquaintance which Pausanias shows with the island suggests a personal visit as well. Strabo's short account is more trustworthy than the others, and it is perhaps derived in part from Posidonius, a Greek historian of about 60 B.C., who travelled widely in these regions.

It is impossible now to decide what element of truth there is in these legends, but it may be worth noting that, while externally they are Greek, the African tradition is strongly marked, and they seem to represent vague stories of successive African immigrations. Thus, Iolaus is probably a Libyan god, whose name occurs in various African place-names. Sardus is described as the son of another god, Maceris; Aristæus is the son of Cyrene, a nymph who lived in Africa, and advised him to settle in Sardinia.

The facts recorded by Diodorus¹ may be taken first:

' When Heracles had ended his labours, and the god had announced that it was proper for him, before his departure to heaven, to send a colony to Sardo, and to

¹ IV. 29 and 82, V. 15.

Story of Iolaus and Aristæus

make the sons whom the daughters of Thespius bore him the leaders thereof, he resolved to send his brother's son Iolaus with the boys, because they were quite young. Thespius was of noble ancestry, of Athens, the son of Erechtheus, and he ruled over the country named from himself. Iolaus took these boys and many others who wished to share in the settlement, and sailed to Sardo. Having conquered the natives in battle, he allotted the best part of the island, especially the plain country which is still called Iolæon. By reclaiming the region and planting it with fruit-trees he made it an object of rivalry; for the reputation of the island's fertility spread so widely that the Carthaginians, when they later grew to power, sought to possess it. After organizing the colony, Iolaus sent for Dædalus from Sicily, and constructed many great works which have lasted to the present time, called *dædalea* from their maker. He also built large and expensive gymnasia, and set up law-courts and other appurtenances of prosperity; and he called the people Iolæans from his own name, with the consent of the Thespiads, who gave him this honour as to their father. Wherefore those who offer sacrifices to this god call him father Iolaus. . . .

'They say that Aristæus after the death of Actæon came to his father's oracle, and that Apollo warned him that he should go over to the island of Ceos, and that honours should be paid him by the Ceans. Then, leaving his offspring in Ceos, he returned to Libya, and, advised by his mother the nymph, set out and sailed to Sardo, and, settling there and admiring the island for its beauty, he planted it and changed its wildness for cultivation. He begot there two sons, Charmus and Callicarpus, and afterwards visited the other islands. . . .'

'The island is inhabited by barbarians called Iolæans, whom they regard as descendants of those who settled with Iolaus and the Thespiads. The oracle relating to the colony further stated that those who took part should retain their liberty for ever; and it came about unexpectedly that the oracle preserved the freedom of the inhabi-

Iolæans ever Unsubdued

tants to the present time. The Carthaginians, who long held sway and gained possession of the island, were unable to enslave its earlier occupants. The Iolæans, fleeing to the mountain districts and making underground dwellings, maintained numerous herds. These provided abundant food, and they subsisted on milk, cheese, and flesh, and, retiring from the plain country, gave up the toils of agriculture. The Carthaginians often came against them with powerful armies; but, owing to the roughness of the ground and the difficulty of attacking subterranean dwellings, they remained unsubdued. Lastly, when the Romans prevailed and often marched against them, they remained unconquered by hostile force, for like reasons.

'Iolaus when he had established the colony returned to Greece, but the Thespiads, after ruling the island for several generations, were at last driven over to Italy, and settled in the district of Cumæ. The rest of the people, sinking into barbarism, set over themselves the best native leaders, and preserved their freedom to the present time.'

Here is a Roman epic poet's summary of the legends:¹

'Hence for the Grecian colonists Ichnusa was its name,
But soon of Libyan Hercules a noble son there came,
King Sardus, and beneath his sway 'twas first Sardinia
 hight;
Then Trojans too sought here a home from out of bitter
 flight,
When scatt'ring over every sea they'd seen their towers
 cast down;
And Iolaus to the isle brought not a less renown
When with his father's fleet he came, and with the Thes-
 piad band,
And planted a far colony within this sea-girt land.
So, too, when with limbs direly rent Actæon rued the sight
Of fair Diana at the stream, amazed and full of fright

¹ Sil. XII. 359.

Pausanias on Early Settlements

At evil never seen afore, his sire fled o'er the waves,
And Aristæus refuge found within Sardoan caves.
His mother first, Cyrene, bade to seek that unknown
strand

Where snakes harm not, nor poisoned herb can grow
throughout the land.'

The most systematic narrative is that of Pausanias:¹

'Libyans are said to have been the first to sail to the island; their leader was Sardus, the son of Maceris who was also called Heracles by the Egyptians and Libyans. . . . Ichnussa changed its name in honour of this Sardus. However, the company of Libyans did not cast out the natives, but the latter received them as associates, more of necessity than good-will. Neither the Libyans nor the native race knew how to make cities; but they lived scattered and disorganized in huts and caves.

'Some years after the Libyans, Aristæus and his companions arrived from Greece. They say that Aristæus was son of Apollo and Cyrene, and that, feeling excessive grief at the calamity of Actæon, and consequently loathing Bœotia and all Greece, he migrated to Sardinia. Others think that at the same time Dædalus fled from Camicus (Agrigentum), because the Cretans sent an expedition against it, and shared with Aristæus in the Sardinian colony. Yet it is unreasonable that Dædalus, who lived at the time when Œdipus was reigning in Thebes, could have taken part in a colony or anything else with Aristæus, who was married to Autonoe daughter of Cadmus.² At any rate, these settlers also founded no city, being, I imagine, too few and weak for the purpose.

'After Aristæus, Iberians crossed to Sardinia, with Norax as the leader of their company; and the city of Nora was founded by them. They relate that this was the

¹ X. 17.

² Œdipus was fourth in descent from Cadmus.

Trojan and African Colonies

earliest city in the island, and that he was the son of Erytheia, daughter of Geryon, and of Hermes.

'The fourth party which arrived was the company of Iolaus, consisting of Thespians and men from Attica. They founded the city of Olbia, while, apart from the others, the Athenians founded Ogryle, preserving the name of one of their demes; or else Ogrylus himself shared in the expedition. Even in our time places called Iolæa remain in Sardinia, and Iolaus is honoured by the inhabitants.¹

'When Ilium was taken, Trojan fugitives were saved,² including those who escaped with Æneas; and some of these, being carried by the winds to Sardinia, mingled with the Greeks previously established. The barbarians were prevented from warring on the Greeks or Trojans by the fact that all were on equal terms as regards all war equipment, and that the river Thyrsus, which separated the respective territories and had to be crossed, inspired fear.

'Many years later Libyans again crossed to the island with a larger company, and began a war with the Greeks. The latter all perished, or at least there were few survivors; while the Trojans fled to the highlands, and occupying the mountains, which were hard of access owing to rows of stakes and steep rocks, they retained the name of Ilians to the present time. Yet they resemble Libyans in form, in the make of their arms, and in their whole mode of life.'

The pseudo-Aristotelian treatise³ has an early reference to the famous nuraghi:

'They say that these towers were constructed by Iolaus son of Iphicles when, taking the Thespiads, sons of Heracles, he sailed to those parts to settle there, holding that

¹ In IX. 23 he states that a gymnasium of Iolaus was still visible at Thebes, but that the Thebans agreed that, like his fellow-settlers, he died in Sardinia.

² The Trojan settlement is evidently an inference from the similarity of *Ilienses* and *Ilium*.

³ *Mirab. Ausc.* 100.

Reconstruction of Early History

they belonged to him in virtue of his kinship with Heracles, who had made himself lord of all the parts of the west. Sardinia is said to have been once fertile and productive, since Aristæus, reputed the greatest agriculturist among the ancients, is described in legend as having ruled over it, when it had previously been occupied by numerous large birds. It now bears no such large harvest, because, it being under the rule of the Carthaginians, all crops suitable for food are cut down, and death is the penalty if any of the natives try to replant them.'

The late Latin writer Solinus¹ adds a few details:

'It is unnecessary to say how Sardus the son of Hercules and Norax the son of Mercury, one from Libya, the other from Tartessus in Spain, came to these parts, Sardus giving his name to the country, Norax to the town of Nora; or how afterwards Aristæus, who reigned next to them, joined the races (which had hitherto lived apart) into one society in the city of Carales, which he had founded. We may also pass over Iolaus, who occupied territory in the island, as well as the Ilienses and Locrenses.'

As far as the early history can be reconstructed, the sequence seems to have been somewhat as follows: Palæolithic man, if he existed at all, left no traces, though these are common in Sicily and North Africa; and much of the Sardinian lowland appears to have been still submerged at this period. In Neolithic times the Sards crossed from Africa, a short dark race, with dark brown eyes and hair and long heads. These were chiefly hunters and shepherds, living in huts or caves among the forests or mountains. They were followed towards the Bronze Age by another influx of Africans, the men of the nuraghi and giants' tombs.

¹ IV. 1.

Physical Characteristics of the Race

They had a relatively high civilization, engaging to some extent in agriculture, under the rule of feudal chiefs whose dominion extended in most cases over a single village. Later a few Phœnician factories grew up on the coast, Tyrian merchants exchanging the manufactured goods and ornaments of Phœnicia and Egypt for the produce of the island. Small Greek and possibly Etruscan settlements may have been founded in the north or east. In the sixth century the whole of the more fertile parts fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, who brought over more African settlers to till the fields and work the mines.

It will thus be seen that the Sardinian race was essentially North African, and it still presents a very general uniformity. Fair hair and blue or grey eyes are rare, occurring chiefly in the north, where immigrations from Northern Italy have taken place in more recent times. Negroid types, though not very common, are firmly implanted, especially in the south, where the thick lips, stiff curly hair, and prognathous jaw, are seen not infrequently. The Sardinian population is regarded as not only the darkest of all Italians, but also the most dolichocephalic, the long head being another African feature. The large proportion of persons of very low stature (and 30 per cent. of the annual recruits are below 1.60 m.) leads some anthropologists to assume an early incursion of African pigmies, who by mingling with the other inhabitants have lost their most marked characteristics.

Strabo on Native Peoples

The longest description of the native peoples in Roman times is given by Strabo, writing early in the Empire:¹

‘The island is unhealthy in summer, especially in the fruitful districts, and these are constantly ravaged by the mountaineers, who are called Diagesbeis, formerly named Iolæans; for Iolaus is said to have come hither, bringing the sons of Heracles, and to have joined with the barbarians who inhabited the island; these were Etruscans. Later the Phœnicians from Carthage gained possession, and, helped by the natives, carried on wars with the Romans. On the defeat of the Phœnicians all fell to the Romans. There are four tribes of mountaineers, Parati, Sossinati, Balari, Aconites, who live in caves; and though they have some land, they do not cultivate it with care, but pillage the lands of the industrious, partly on the island, partly making inroads on the inhabitants of the opposite coast, especially those of Pisa. The generals who are sent to Sardinia offer some resistance, but often overlook their conduct, feeling it useless constantly to maintain an army in unhealthy districts. It remains for them to have recourse to certain devices. Thus they keep in mind the custom which the barbarians have of holding festival for several days after their forays. They then assail them and capture many. Rams exist there which have goats’ hair instead of wool, and are called *musmones*, their skins being used as breastplates. They also use a wicker shield and a javelin.’

Besides the four mountain tribes here named, other peoples are alluded to by the geographers, usually difficult to place, owing to the lack of inscriptions in the wilder parts, where the ethnic system prevailed over the municipal. A long list occurs in Ptolemy.² The Sicels, whom he describes

¹ Strab. V. 2, 7.

² III. 2.

Position of Chief Tribes

as occupying the south-east corner, were probably a branch of the South Italian tribe who gave their name to Sicily. Some of the names, as Noritani, Tibulatii, Sulcitani, Neapolitani, evidently denote mere local divisions, comprising a group of villages dependent on some central municipality. In the extreme north lived the Corsi, traditionally immigrants from Corsica who left through internal dissensions.¹ These people, living nearest to the shores of Italy, were probably the pirates who ravaged the opposite coast. Their district, now called Gallura, is covered with forest, but provides little corn or wine, and is cut off from the rest of Sardinia by rugged mountains. It is still inhabited chiefly by scattered shepherds, and the one town, Tempio, by its name perhaps commemorates some central shrine of the tribe. The Pelliti, or skin-clad Sards, with their capital Cornus, from which they sometimes take the name of Cornenses, lived towards the west coast. The Balari, believed to descend in part from foreign mercenaries of Carthage, occupied the north midland district near Monte Acuto. The fierce Ilienses, who long opposed a determined resistance to the Roman arms, inhabited the mountainous east midland district, the wildest part of the island, familiar to readers of Dante² under the name of Barbagia. The conjectural position of the other tribes is given in La Marmora's large atlas.

As among other primitive peoples, old men who

¹ Paus. X. 17.

² *Purg.* 23, 94.

Character of the People

had become useless to the community are said to have been clubbed to death, and then buried, to which the credulous added that a son would drive his own father into a pit ready dug for him.¹ The Greeks also believed that habitual idlers were cited before a tribal assembly, and punished if they failed to show that they pursued a useful occupation.² Sardinian sorcerers and witches had a certain notoriety,³ and magical qualities were attributed to many springs.

Many of the ancient traits of character are still noticeable, and the nature of the peasants, resembling the Spanish temperament rather than the Italian, includes both the virtues and defects of a half-civilized race. They are grave and sober, yet sociable and hospitable, docile, with strong family affections, and respectful, but demanding respect in return; 'noi trattiamo bene se siamo trattati bene,' as one of them said. Though vendette are less systematic than in Corsica, they are apt to prove revengeful, and, owing to the poverty which results from want of settled work, they are guilty of many thefts and frauds. They have a natural aptitude for poetry, and the gift of extemporizing. Long poetical contests are a favourite pastime, often in strongly allegorical language; and chants, such as the *graminatigui*, or singing at the wool-combing, relieve the tedium of rural occupations.

The garment most often mentioned, and regarded

¹ *Æl. Var. H.* IV. 1; cf. p. 54.

² *Æl. l.c.*

³ *Solin. I.* 101; *Ammian. Marc. XXVIII.* 1, 5.

Native Costumes

as a kind of national emblem,¹ was the leather *mastruca*, made from the skin of the indigenous mouflon. It probably resembled the pelisse called *beste peddi* (vestis pellis) still worn by shepherds, and among the wilder tribes it may have been untanned, retaining the long hair. Ælian² says that this hair, which he describes as goat's, had the unusual quality of producing heat in winter and coolness in summer. This may have depended on whether the hair was worn inside or out.

Another peasant garment is the *collettu*, a sleeveless tunic of tanned leather, held in by a tight belt, and forming a kind of double apron reaching to the knees. This may be the leather cuirass referred to by Strabo as worn in conjunction with a shield and dagger, and was probably in use among the less savage tribes.

¹ Cic. *Scaur.* 20; cf. Varr. *R. R.* II. 11.

² *N. A.* 16, 34.

CHAPTER III

THE CARTHAGINIAN SUPREMACY

'Benirunt ipsos Fenikos cum ipsas naves ipsoro et biderunt ipsa nostra insula abundante de omni gratia de Deo, de arbores plantas erbas montes, pretiosos rivos et fontes habundantes, et omnes bestias, et quantu Deus hat creatu pro ipsos homines.'—'ANTONIUS OF THARROS.'

DIRECT evidence of Phœnician colonies in Sardinia prior to the Carthaginian conquest in the sixth century is very scanty. Yet the archaic character of some of the works of art discovered in Punic cemeteries, and the attraction which Sardinia would offer as a halting-place on the way to Gaul and Spain, make it probable that a few factories and small mercantile settlements had been planted on the more defensible headlands and islands of the south-west, such as Nora, Sulci, Tharros, and Carales. These places would give access to the chief mining area, and to the parts richest in salt, wool, and corn. There is no trace of a military occupation till the Carthaginians, perhaps alarmed at the progress of the Greeks, who had planted a colony in Corsica and were threatening the northern coasts of Sardinia, determined on a regular occupation.

The Carthaginian Conquest

The first expedition, about 560, proved a failure. The Sards, probably possessing the accoutrements which their bronzes have made familiar to us, defeated the Punic general Malchus or Mazæus, and destroyed a large part of his army.¹ Some years later the Carthaginians strengthened themselves by an alliance with Etruria, and the Greeks were defeated by the joint fleets (537). Corsica now passed into the undisputed possession of the Etruscans, whose command of these seas lasted for a century longer. The task of reducing Sardinia was resumed by Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, sons of the distinguished general Mago, who had done much to strengthen the power of Carthage in the Mediterranean.² The coast districts seem to have been annexed by these, but Hasdrubal received a mortal wound in the course of the campaign. By 509, to which date Polybius³ ascribes the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, the latter's ownership of Sardinia was acknowledged, and it is implied that no foreign settlements, whether Greek or Etruscan, still remained. Roman merchants were allowed to trade in Sardinian ports, and the Punic government became responsible for satisfying such traders as parted with their goods without immediate payment.

Many of the natives withdrew to the inaccessible interior, and in spite of frequent military expeditions the Carthaginians never really subdued

¹ Just. XVIII. 7; Oros. IV. 6.

² Just. XIX. 1.

³ III. 22.

Administration of the Island

these parts.¹ Indeed, for the time they probably had no desire to reduce the whole island, but only sought to punish the marauding tribes and to protect their own settlers.

The greater part of the south and west was securely occupied, and colonies were planted or developed from earlier Phœnician trading-stations. Some of these towns possessed a certain liberty of action, and in theory were perhaps only allied States. Swampy areas were drained and made fertile, mines exploited, and African cultivators brought over to develop the agricultural resources. In Africa, and probably in Sardinia, too, such workers were in the position of serfs, paying a fourth of the crop as tribute, and being liable to supply recruits for the Carthaginian forces. Sardinian corn was used to provision the Punic armies, as well as Carthage itself when revolt or invasion cut off the African supplies.² Natives were drafted into the armies of Carthage, at first perhaps as volunteers, as in the war with the Sicilian Greeks in 480; but by the next century some conscriptive system seems to have followed on the more complete organization of the province.³

Mercenaries of foreign origin, including Africans and Spaniards, were used to garrison the fortified posts; but they proved restless and insubordinate, and, sometimes breaking loose from their allegiance, they went to join the wild tribes of the interior.

¹ Diod. V. 15.

² *Id.* XI. 20, XIV. 77, XXI. 16; Polyb. I. 82, 6-7.

³ Hdt. VIII. 165; Diod. XIV. 95; Strab. V. 2, 7.

History in the Fourth Century

The tribe of Balari was by the Greeks supposed to have originated from such deserters.¹

The area under direct Punic rule was apparently bounded by the rivers Thyrsus and Sæprus, excluding the northern and eastern parts except for a few coast stations such as Olbia. The natives were on the whole unsympathetically treated by the Carthaginians, who had not, as in Sicily, to fear any rival power which could be made a rallying-point for the disaffected. Early in the fourth century the occasion of a pestilence at Carthage, accompanied by a revolt of her Libyan subjects, was seized by the Sardis, more likely the agricultural serfs than the free mountaineers, for an attack on the Phœnician settlers. Their colonies were overrun, but Carthage was still strong enough to retrieve her position, and both Libyans and Sardis were reduced to obedience.² At the same period (378) we have the first reference to an attempt of the Romans to settle in the island, 500 colonists being despatched, but apparently failing to establish themselves. As, however, it is doubtful whether the Romans would be ready for transmarine ventures so soon after the havoc of the Gallic invasion, some editors wish to substitute Satricum or Ardea for Sardonis in the passage of Diodorus, our only authority.³

The Punic towns, which no doubt included a native element, enjoyed a certain local independence. They stood under their own *suffetes*, or judges, and

¹ Paus. X. 17.

² Diod. XV. 24.

³ *Ib.* 27.

Growing Oppressiveness of Carthage

could despatch ambassadors to foreign powers, as to Alexander at Babylon after his return from India.¹ This embassy may have been due to the terror inspired by the Macedonian conquest of Phœnicia.

A change for the worse in Carthaginian rule dates from the close of the fourth century. The natives of the interior were prohibited from engaging in agricultural pursuits, and their trees and crops were cut down, perhaps to compel them to exchange the proceeds of their hunting or their flocks for the corn and fruit of the Punic coast-dwellers.² Romans were now forbidden to trade with the island or establish any settlement.³ They might only take in provisions at a Sardinian port, or refit their ships, and, if carried by storms to the island, were to depart in five days. It was even reported that the crews of foreign ships sailing in this direction were seized by the Carthaginians and thrown into the sea.⁴ Corsica also was now in possession of Carthage, and its supplies of ship timber must have proved as useful as the Sardinian corn, on which the Punic capital largely depended during Agathocles' invasion.

We now come to the era of the first war with Rome, when the Romans set themselves to break

¹ Just. XII. 13; Oros. III. 20.

² [Arist.] *Mirab. Ausc.* 100. The reference can only be to the disaffected tribes, though assumed by the Greeks to relate to the whole island.

³ Polyb. III. 24.

⁴ Strab. XVII. 1, 9.

The First Punic War

through the island barrier with which their rivals hedged them off from access to the south and west. Strong Punic forces were sent to Sardinia at the beginning of the war,¹ perhaps to set up there an anti-Roman base and so force the evacuation of Sicily. This army was, however, transferred to Sicily, and there is no reference to hostilities in Sardinia till after the great naval victory of the Romans at Mylæ in 260. This was followed by two campaigns, now involved in great obscurity, in the north-east and south of Sardinia. Two distinct traditions are discernible, that of Philinus, the Sicilian Greek historian, represented now by Zonaras, and that of the Scipionic family. Philinus, who followed the fortunes of Hannibal, naturally shows no bias on behalf of Rome, and Polybius, who, despite his admiration for the Scipios, does not deliberately falsify history, passes over unnoticed the undistinguished part played by their ancestor in Sardinia. It is also noteworthy, in view of the exaggerations of later Roman writers, that the contemporary epitaph on Scipio² claims no success in Sardinia.

The Romans in this year 259 decided to divide their forces between Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, hoping, no doubt, to destroy Punic trade with the two former, which were then weakly garrisoned. L. Scipio, the consul for 259, landed a small force in Corsica, and occupied Aleria, the chief port on the east. Perhaps leaving a garrison there, he

¹ Zon. VIII. 10, 1.

² C. I. L. I. 32.

Campaigns of Scipio and Sulpicius

proceeded to Sardinia. A Punic fleet, which may have been on guard duty off Sardinia, fled on his approach, and siege was laid to Olbia, then held by a Punic garrison. The appearance of a more powerful Carthaginian fleet under Hannibal compelled Scipio, whose land forces were few, to raise the siege and return to Italy. This account, now preserved in Zonaras, seems to be the oldest and most trustworthy ; and to it later ages added romantic stories¹ about stratagems by which the enemy were induced to sally from their city, which was then occupied by a Roman ambush, and about Scipio's magnanimity in having buried from his own quarters the Punic commander Hanno, who had fallen in battle outside Olbia.

The consul of the next year (258), Sulpicius, was sent out better equipped, and he carried on hostilities against Hannibal with success. A large part of the island, including probably Olbia, was overrun by the Romans, who began to turn their thoughts towards the invasion of Africa itself. With this object, the fleet of Sulpicius set out from one of the southern harbours, and Hannibal also sailed in order to intercept him. Owing to contrary winds both rivals were compelled to return to Sardinia. Soon after Sulpicius, by means of a ruse, attacked the enemies' squadron under cover of a mist, and after sinking several vessels

¹ Liv. *Ep.* 17; Val. Max. VI. 1, 2; Flor. I. 18, 16; Frontin. III. 10, 2; Sil. VI. 671: 'Scipio ductoris celebrabat funera Pœni, Sardoa victor terra.'

Close of the War

forced Hannibal to take refuge in the harbour of Sulci. Here the Phœnicians beached their ships, preparatory to a defence of the islet, but Hannibal met his death in trying to suppress a mutiny among his own men.¹

His lieutenant Hanno, perhaps the defender of Olbia in the previous year, still disposed of considerable forces, and the Romans, finding that they were losing ground, apparently withdrew from the island for the rest of the war. Yet Sulpicius was awarded a triumph over both the Carthaginians and Sardis, who at this time and later in the war in Sicily served as mercenaries of Carthage.² Colonies planted by Rome at Alsium (247) and Fregenzæ (245), on the opposite coast of Italy, may have been partly designed to check Punic raids from Sardinia.

In spite of the demand of Regulus (256), that both Sardinia and Sicily should be surrendered to Rome, no mention is made of the former in the treaty which fifteen years later ended the First Punic War.³ It thus remained a few years longer in Carthaginian possession.

The unwise measures of the Punic government at the close of this war, and their attempt to defraud their mercenaries of what they deemed their due, led to a serious outbreak of the hired soldiers

¹ Polyb. I. 24; Zon. VIII. 11.

² Strab. V. 2, 8.

³ So Polyb. I. 63; *cf.* Liv. XXI. 1. This account is better than that of late writers like Oros. IV. 11, [Vict.] *vir. ill.* 41, Eutrop. III. 2, who hoped to justify the seizure of the island by Rome in 238 by representing it as previously ceded by Carthage at the close of the war.

Revolt of Mercenary Garrison

then in Africa, in conjunction with many of the subject Libyans. This mutinous spirit spread to the garrison of Sardinia. The Punic governor Bostar was shut up in one of the fortresses, probably Carales, and eventually put to death by the soldiers, with all his countrymen who could be found. Reinforcements sent out from Carthage under Hanno deserted to the insurgents, and their commander was captured and crucified. This was followed by a further massacre of Carthaginians, and the Punic towns were overawed.¹ Yet the natives were not satisfied with the change of masters. Uniting their forces, they drove the Spaniards and Africans out of the island, and obliged them to seek an asylum in Italy.

At first the Romans had refused to aid the rebels in any way,² notwithstanding their offer to cede the island. When, however, the Carthaginians succeeded in suppressing the revolt in Africa, and it seemed likely that Sardinia also would be recovered, the senate resolved not to let slip the opportunity. The consul for 238, Tib. Gracchus, was despatched to Sardinia, and took possession, at any rate of the coast districts, without opposition.³

The mixed population of these parts had no doubt found their commerce and agriculture hampered by the recent troubles, and would welcome a stable government. Several campaigns were, however, needed before the mountain tribes were reduced to a semblance of obedience to Rome.

¹ Polyb. I. 79.

² *Ib.* 83.

³ *Cf.* p. 86.

Romans Seize the Island

The Punic government protested against the usurpation, but, weakened by the recent revolts following on the long war with Rome, gave way before a threat to renew hostilities. Carthage agreed not only to abandon all claims to Sardinia and Corsica (which was occupied about the same time by Rome), but to pay an additional fine of 1,200 talents as a penalty for outrages on Roman merchants during the war with the mercenaries.¹

The conduct of the senate, even in the lenient judgment of Polybius,² was very discreditable, and resentment at the loss of Sardinia was a leading cause of the Hannibalic war twenty years later.

The effects of the three centuries of Phœnician occupation were not on the whole very far-reaching. This people never exerted itself to civilize its subjects except in so far as their services could be utilized as mercenaries, miners, or agricultural serfs. Yet the Punic language and method of writing took a strong hold on the more advanced parts, and there was some barter between the Liby-Phœnician coast-dwellers and the natives of the interior.

The Punic inscriptions number about fifty, and some of them are referred to in the chapters on the cities where they were found. They are seldom early, and almost all are written in that African script which prevailed in the last years of Carthaginian independence. In Sardinia few are prior

¹ Polyb. I. 88, III. 28; App. *Ib.* 4, *Lib.* 2, 5 and 86.

² Polyb. III. 10 and 28.

Trilingual Inscription of Pauli Gerrei

to the Roman conquest, and their occurrence at this time is a proof that the language long maintained itself, and that Romanization under the Republic was very superficial, even in the towns.

Four examples from different places may be taken. One of the most interesting is the trilingual inscription found in 1860 at Pauli Gerrei, near the river Sæprus, in the south-east of the island. It was set up by one Cleon, a servant of the Roman company which farmed certain salt-works from the censors, about the middle of the second century B.C.¹ The Latin version is, 'Cleon the salt-worker, servant of the company, made an offering to Æsculapius Merre willingly and deservedly'; the Greek, 'To Asclepius Merre, Cleon, who is over the salt-works, set up an altar as an offering by command.' The Punic is fuller: 'To lord Eshmun-mearrich (of life), an altar in bronze in weight 100 pounds, dedication of Cleon, son of . . . (a Punic name, uncertain), of the company of salt-workers. He heard his voice, he healed him. In the year of the judges Himilkat and Abd-Eshmun, son of Himelek.'

This is engraved on the base of a bronze column once forming part of a temple of uncemented stone, and it is surrounded by a laurel wreath. Cleon had apparently been healed after a warning conveyed in a dream in this temple of Eshmun-Æsculapius, and he was doubtless a Punic agent of the Roman

¹ 7856; Kaibel, 608; C. I. S. 143; *Rhein. Mus.* 1865; *Der alte Orient*, 1907, p. 25.

Other Punic Inscriptions

company, though, like many Orientals in Italy, he assumed a Western name. The salt-works may have been near the temple, or more likely at Carales, to which city we may perhaps attribute the *suffetes*, or judges, officials who lasted on at Carthage itself far into the Roman era.

The Punic inscription long known as *Norensis prima*,¹ found in the wall of a monastery at Nora in 1773, has given rise to long discussions. The interpretations which make it a memorial set up on the arrival in the island of the mythical Sardus are obviously absurd. Like most Phœnician monuments in stone, it is funerary: 'Monument of Rosch, the son of Noged, of Sardinia. Melek-jatan, son of Rosch, son of Noged, of Lipis, has carried out what belongs to its erection.'

At Sulci there is a bilingual inscription,² Punic and Latin, recording how, in execution of a decree of the local authorities, a sanctuary was erected to one of the Phœnician goddesses by Himilco, in whose honour a statue was set up by his son. This is from early in the first century B.C., and we see in it, as in Africa and Syria, an example of the adaptation of the old Semitic city State to Roman municipal institutions.

A long Punic inscription³ on a block of Greek marble, perhaps dating from early in the second century B.C., was found in the cemetery at Cagliari. Like a few other examples in Sardinia, it seems to

¹ C. I. S. 144.

² *Ib.* 149, C. I. L. X. 7513.

³ N. S. 1913, 87.

Inscription of Carales

belong to a votive offering. The name of the recipient god, perhaps Eshmun, is missing, but there is a long list of typical Punic names, as Adonibaal, Bodmelcart, Aris, and Magon. The last donor was Aris, 'the chief of the priests,' who made the offering 'because the god chose as priest his son from Sidon.' The son may have been engaged in business in Syria, and returned to take up some appointment in a Punic temple at Carales.

CHAPTER IV

NATURAL PRODUCTS AND COMMERCE

*'Qua videt Italiam, saxoso torrida dorso
Exercet scopulis late freta, pallidaque intus
Arva coquit nimium, Cancro fumantibus Austris;
Cetera propensæ Cereris nutrita favore.'*

SILIUS ITALICUS.

THE dimensions of the island, which is in the form of an irregular oblong, are 160 miles from north to south, 68 from east to west, with an area of 9,187 square miles. It lies 140 miles from the coast of Italy, 128 from Africa. Though the length is less than three degrees of latitude, the diversities in the surface produce variations in the climate and flora such as on the mainland extend over fully ten degrees (38° to 48°).

The chief rivers run west and south-west, and in this quarter is the most fertile territory, which, being most accessible from the sea, and containing good harbours, early attracted foreign settlers. The northern and eastern coasts, on the other hand, with their formidable lines of rugged cliffs, did not, like the east of Corsica, invite approach from Italy. Olbia, the only good harbour in this part, was shut off from the rest of Sardinia by steep mountain

Chief Mountain Districts

ranges. The northern half of the west coast is similar to the east, but the southern half is more broken by sandy bays, backed either by low hills or by extensive lagoons. This formation continues round the south-west angle, with occasional spurs of rocky hills, till the wide gulf of Cagliari is reached, bordered in part by salt lakes, in part by some good arable lands.

Nine-tenths of the area are covered with hills or mountains, very irregularly placed, and forming few definite ranges. The principal line, running north and south, is evidently a continuation of the Corsican range, and it throws off several transverse ranges or plateaux. The chief peak, Gennargentu, in the Barbagia, or east central district, is over 5,200 feet, and appears higher from the abruptness of its slope towards the interior. It is snow-clad for over half the year. The small transverse range of Limbarra in the north attains nearly 3,700 feet. Another important group, extending almost to the west coast, is that of the Marghini and Lussurgia Mountains. The only range named by the ancients is the *Insani Montes*, and according to the ordinary view these would be the Montiferru heights, not far from Bosa, on the west coast. This area, however, belonged to the tribe of the Pelliti, and Gracchus, in his campaign of 177 B.C. against the Ilienses, is said to have carried his arms into the Insani Montes. This east midland or Barbagia district, where Pais would place the mountains so named by the Romans, is much the

Plains and Rivers

wilder, and it is sufficiently near the sea for west winds blowing down from it to cause violent storms. Indeed, Livy, in describing a voyage along the east coast of Sardinia to Carales, records that the Romans did pass these mountains.¹ They were noted not only for fierce storms, but for miasmatic exhalations.²

Between these lateral ranges are sheltered plains, often of considerable fertility, producing corn, vines, and olives; but the richest district is the comparatively level south-western area. Many of the plateaux are incapable of cultivation, as is much of the marshland towards the coast.

Rivers are short and rapid, in the plains swelling so quickly in rainy weather as to become entirely impassable. Of the principal rivers, the Thyrsus (Tirso) rises in the mountains of Budduso, in the west central district, and, after receiving several tributaries, falls into the Gulf of Oristano, near the ancient Tharros, after a course of over ninety miles. The Sæprus (Flumendosa), seventy miles long, a more rapid stream, rises in the mountains of Barbagia, and, passing through a number of precipitous gorges, flows into the sea near the south-east angle of the island. This river often causes disastrous floods, but leaves in its track a rich alluvial soil. Of minor streams, the Temus (fiume di Bosa), twenty-five miles long, on the west coast, is navigable for a short distance; the Termus, in the north,

¹ XXX. 39; cf. Pais, in *Riv. di Filol.* VI. 474, for further references.

² Claud. B. *Gild.* 514.

Prevalence of Malaria

is perhaps the present Coghinas, near Castel Sardo; and a river near Turres (fiume di Porto Torres) is spanned by a well-preserved Roman bridge. The Sacred River mentioned by Ptolemy is now unknown. It may have been a stream once navigable, now largely silted up, in the southern half of the west coast, receiving its title from the adjoining shrine of the national god Sardus, and passing the town of Neapolis. Warm and curative springs were abundant in this largely volcanic island, and by the side of them regular bathing establishments grew up, as at the hot saline waters of Forum Trajani.

All regions have more or less malaria, an evil which has hardly abated since ancient times, in spite of the advance of science and distributions of quinine by the Italian Government. Low-lying swamps, the haunt of mosquitoes, form readily on the flat coast areas, and the mountain torrents spread out in many parts into regular lagoons. On the shore these are mostly salt, sometimes communicating with the sea by a narrow arm; elsewhere they are cut off by sand-dunes which have blocked the river's mouth. Swamps also occur at a considerable height above sea-level. Such frequently dry up in summer, remaining covered with shining white salt crystals or decaying weed, and they are often shrouded in dense fogs. Ancient wells impregnated with brine are sometimes found, and may have been used in the curing of hides.¹

¹ N. S., 1879, 332.

Varieties of Flora

That the summer exhalations from these marshes aggravated the malaria was recognized by the ancients,¹ who also regarded as a contributory cause the fierce African scirocco, while the northern mountains kept off the healthier wind now called 'tramontana.' The food of the peasantry must always have been insufficient; and while deaths from other diseases are fewer than in Italy, the victims of malaria and resultant maladies exceed in recent returns $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. annually of the whole population.

The various zones or climatic regions exhibit a flora ranging from the products of Central Europe to those of North Africa. Much of the central mountainous district is overgrown with trees and bushes, chestnuts, walnuts, arbutus, cistus, myrtle, mastic, and heather. The northern parts, which resemble Provence and Central Italy, are subject to fewest climatic changes, and are specially adapted for olives. The bare treeless plains of the south and west are, like the neighbouring coast of Africa, rich in corn; but towards the coast the soil is much impregnated with salt. Here grow the herbs, saltwort, sea-lavender, glasswort, orach, etc., whose bitterness was proverbial in Roman literature.

The peculiar herb which caused those who tasted it to expire, their faces convulsed by 'sardonic' laughter, has not been identified. It was believed to resemble parsley, according to others to be a

¹ Paus. X. 17; cf. Mart. IV. 60, 6, and Dante, *Inf.* 29, 48, 'di Maremma e di Sardigna i mali.'

Sardonic Laughter

kind of ranunculus, and to grow round the mouths of rivers, the waters of which remained unaffected.¹ There are two chief traditions concerning this widespread myth. Greek writers generally describe the laughter as that of old men who were slaughtered by their sons, being either driven into deep trenches or thrust off tall cliffs; or, again, it is the laughter of the victims immolated to Saturn-Molech by the Phœnician settlers in Sardinia. In Roman times the explanation that sardonic laughter was due to a herb was the received one.

An extract from the proverb collector Zenobius may give an idea of the interest which this subject aroused among the Greeks:

'Æschylus in the treatise about proverbs speaks thus of the present one. The inhabitants of Sardinia, being colonists of the Carthaginians, sacrificed men of over seventy years to Cronos, laughing and greeting one another, for they thought it shameful to weep and mourn; so affected laughter was called sardonic. But Timæus says that they set up their parents in the trenches into which they are about to be flung, and strike them with splinters, or throw them down headlong; while they in the act of perishing laugh owing to the injustice of their children, and their belief that their end is a fortunate and honourable one. Some derive the expression from the island of Sardo, for there grows in it a herb the taste of which makes people

¹ Plin. XX. 45, Paus. *l.c.*, Solin. IV. 1, Suid. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλως, and other references in Pais (*Atti dei Lincei*, 1880, 54), who connects the expression with the immolation voluntarily undergone by devotees of Sandan, a god of Asia Minor. The Greek authorities mostly associate this sardonic laughter with such voluntary self-sacrifice.

Climate—The Campidano

die in convulsions and laughing; but others say that affected laughter is called sardonic from the word "to grin," *σαίρω*. But Simonides says that Talos before he arrived in Crete inhabited Sardo, and destroyed many of the people there, and that these while dying grinned, whence came the expression.¹

The oldest form of the Greek phrase, which occurs already in the *Odyssey*, is *sardanion*, evidently connected with *σαίρω*, 'to draw back the lips in convulsive laughter.' When this became associated with Sardinia, either owing to the unfilial conduct of the natives or the bitterness of the herbs, false etymology produced the spelling *sardonion*.

While the spring is cold and checks vegetation, the plains are exposed to an almost tropical sun, and the herdsmen are obliged to migrate to the mountain pastures, living in huts and caves, or merely sheltering in ancient tombs and dolmens, a nomadism which no doubt prevailed in Roman times.

The chief settled agricultural population was established in the Campidano, a plain sixty miles long and ten broad, reaching north-west from Carales towards the west coast. This included important *latifundia*, both imperial and private, and is still dotted with remains of Roman buildings, which suggest that the inhabitants were mostly scattered in small groups along the main roads.

¹ *Paraem. Gr.*, ed. Leutsch., I. 154-5; Demon, quoted by Schol., *Od.* 23, 302, adds that the Phœnician settlers sacrificed to Cronos not only the old men, but the fairest of their captives.

Extensive Corn Trade

The presence of many nuraghi proves that it was a populous area from prehistoric times. The corn from here would be brought in by road to Carales, and there stored till ready for despatch to Italy. Under the Empire there were imperial granaries in the care of special superintendents, aided by a military staff, who directed the export. An inscription recording the construction of such a building by a governor about the time of Caracalla has been found in the suburb Bonaria,¹ and there existed regular companies of Sardinian shippers who traded with Ostia.² The corn trade, which had already been profitable to the Carthaginians, remained extensive all through the Roman age. In 204 B.C., we are told, such abundant supplies were brought to Rome that it became necessary to build fresh storehouses to receive them.³ Octavian was forced into an agreement with Sextus Pompeius through the inconvenience caused by the latter's stoppage of this trade, and Horace at the same period speaks of 'the fruitful crops of rich Sardinia.'⁴ Later the harvests of Egypt and Africa became the first consideration, and the Sardinian grain was found to be light and inferior to some other sorts.⁵ Yet in the decay of the Empire, when Egyptian grain was absorbed by

¹ *N. S.*, 1909, 183.

² *Cf. C. I. L.* XIV. 4142, where the masters of African and Sardinian vessels set up a statue to one of the officials of Ostia in A.D. 173.

³ *Liv.* XXIX. 36.

⁴ *Od.* I. 31, 4.

⁵ *Plin.* XVIII. 7.

Flowers and Trees—Animals

the new imperial capital, and African supplies were also liable to be cut off, much importance was attached to those of Sardinia.

The plain country, while lacking in wood, is covered with dwarf plants and scented herbs, which serve for pasturage. It is often brilliant with flowers, among which myrtle, broom, lilies, orchids, and mallows, are conspicuous, and in parts it is studded with flower-covered pools. The slopes are covered with trees which, unlike the shrubs, are not smaller than those of the mainland. Willow, poplar, elm, and ash, are common, and several varieties of the oak, especially the cork-tree and ilex. A parasitic growth on the last produced a red dye which was exported to Italy, but was deemed inferior to the *coccus* of Spain.¹ Acorns of the ilex are still ground by the peasants and made into cakes, mixed with lard. Fruit-trees, as chest-nuts, olives, and damsons, are plentiful in many parts, but vines do not seem to have been abundant in ancient times, and Roman officials preferred to bring their own supplies of wine from Italy.²

Domestic animals are kept throughout the year without stalls, and this, combined with the poor pasturage, probably accounts for their small size, which does not, however, amount to dwarfism. The ox, which was universally used for ploughing and draught, is similar to that of Central Italy. The island horses, in spite of the small stature of certain breeds, were in some demand among the

¹ Plin. XVI. 12.

² Gell. XV. 12.

The Musmo and Solifuga

Romans for riding as well as for more military purposes.¹ They are mostly dappled white and dark brown, and, while little used for draught, are of great speed. The most characteristic animal, and that which supplied the native clothing, was the *musmo*, or mouflon, a sheep with long, shaggy hair like a goat, still found in herds in the central and south-western districts. Pausanias² remarks on its swiftness and the bend of its horns, which curled round the ears instead of projecting outwards; and he alludes to the shaggy breast which made it resemble the wild sheep of Æginetan statuary. Ordinary wool was also plentiful, if we can judge from the readiness with which 12,000 tunics and 1,200 togas were procured in the island for clothing the Roman army in the Second Punic War.³

There were various kinds of deer, besides wild swine, the fox, hare, and rabbit, but wolves, badgers, martens, and snakes, were unknown. Locusts were brought over by the southerly winds; scorpions, too, are frequent, and there were insect pests to which ancient writers often refer. The chief was a venomous spider called *solifuga* by the Romans, which lurked in caves and mines, and inflicted serious injuries on those who touched it unawares.⁴ Naturalists identify this with the *Mygale fodilus*, a spider whose bite is dangerous, but the tarantula is also common and much dreaded. As in Corsica,

¹ Cf. Amm. XXIX. 3, 5; Vop. Firm. 6.

² X. 17; cf. Æl. Var. H. IV. 1.

³ Liv. XXIX. 36; cf. XXXII. 27 (of 198 B.C.).

⁴ Solin. IV. 1.

Varieties of Fish

much honey was produced, but it was strong-tasting from the bitter herbs.¹ Some peculiar butterflies occur, the species being now named after some of the ancient worthies, as Iolaus, Aristæus, Hospiton.

Fish are abundant in the salt and fresh-water lakes, and large supplies of tunny were obtained along the coast. These and the sardines were probably the 'Sardinian pickle' mentioned by Greek writers. Some purple fish were found off the island of Buccina, east of Olbia, and coral was worked by the Phœnicians. The tunnies are at times pursued by sharks, which are dangerous to bathers; and some recollection of the ferocity of sharks, or of swordfish, in these waters, may have given rise to the strange story of the sea-rams.² Surrounded by dolphins, we are told, they haunted the straits round the island. They lived on dead bodies, and made a great surge as they swam, sufficient to swamp vessels, often leaping far out of the water. Sometimes they would dash persons standing on the water's edge into the sea with their tails, and devour them. The male had a white diadem round the forehead like one of the Hellenistic kings, while the female had beneath her head ringlets of hair resembling a cock's wattles. The *ophion* was a kind of deer, the flesh of which was an antidote against poison. It was extinct by the time of Pliny, who also mentions the fabulous *gromphena*, a bird resembling a crane.³

¹ Hor. *A. P.* 375, and Porph. *ad loc.*

² *Æl. N. A.* XV. 2. ³ Plin. XXVIII. 42, XXX. 52

Extent of Mineral Resources

The lakes by the southern coast are haunted by flamingoes which arrive from Africa in the summer, and by other water-birds; while thousands of wild ducks and geese migrate here in the autumn.

The chief mineral deposits consist of lead and copper. The richest districts were about Iglesias and Sulci, in the south-west, especially the low hills towards the sea, from which the ore could be easily shipped to Africa in Punic times. Under the Romans the Sardinian mines were mostly public property, worked partly by convict labour, and superintended by imperial freedmen. Metalla thus became a regular urban centre, and minor centres existed in this south-western area. They had separate works, offices, cemeteries, etc., and probably took the form of *vici* with their own magistrates, but lacking a complete municipal organization. Large iron hammers, scorix, and leaden blocks with the emperor's name, are often found in this part, pointing both to imperial ownership of the mines and to the existence of smelting-works in the island.¹ Several of the lead-mines contain a proportion of silver, and this was extracted in Roman times.² Thus, in the poem of Sidonius Apollinaris³ describing the provinces each bringing a gift to their Italian queen, it is a silver offering which is borne by Sardinia.

Good iron is also found, but the metal does not seem to have been much worked before the Roman age, the few early implements found being probably

¹ N. S., 1913, 89 sq. ² Solin. IV. 1, 3. ³ V. 49.

Stone Quarries and Precious Stones

Punic importations. Late in the Empire iron was largely exported,¹ though it was less abundant than in the neighbouring Ilva (Elba).

Sardinia is rich in granite and basalt, which enable the poorest houses to be well and durably constructed. Granite, much of it of a red tint, occurs in the central and northern mountains, especially in the Gallura, and it is often conjoined with feldspar, quartz, red or violet porphyry, black marble, and syenite. Of precious stones cornelian, jasper, agate, and amethyst, were fairly common, and finely cut specimens are found in the tombs. Alum and fuller's earth were exported,² the latter of inferior quality, and only suitable for cleaning white garments. Among the lakes and marshes were several salt-works.

The natural resources therefore consisted principally of corn, timber, lead, copper, building stone, and salt. Under the Empire export trade brought a fair amount of wealth into the island, and there were easy communications with Pisa, Populonia, and Ostia. The scanty remains of the coast towns point to the presence of a certain luxury, with theatres and other public buildings, statues, mosaics, frescoes, jewelled rings, and other personal ornaments. Only the political changes and the insecurity of the troublous fifth century threw back the coast-dwellers into semi-barbarous conditions.

¹ Cf. Rutil. Namat. I. 254, 'Quæ Sardo cespite massa fluit.'

² Plin. XXXV. 17 and 52.

CHAPTER V

THE REPUBLICAN PROVINCE

'Difficile est dictu quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes propter eorum quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus iniurias ac libidines.'—CICERO.

THE Romans, about 238 B.C., having gained possession of the more accessible parts of Sardinia, proceeded to form it, together with Corsica, which they annexed at the same time, into a province, the second in the long series which had recently begun with the conquest of Sicily. The inhabitants of the coast towns were left their local independence and magistrates, who in some cases retained for a time their Punic title of *suffetes*. The whole territory became in theory the property of the Roman people, and certain parts, perhaps the estates of towns which had sided with Carthage, were confiscated as public land.¹ A tithe of the field-produce was exacted from landowners, and this impost was sometimes doubled in times of war,² though the second tithe was properly a purchase made by the government. Such corn was either conveyed directly to Rome or to the Roman army

¹ Cic. *Balb.* XVIII. 41.

² E.g., 191 (Liv. 36, 2), 190 (37, 2), 189 (37, 50), 171 (42, 31).

Character of the Early Government

in the field.¹ A *stipendium*, or direct tax, was also levied,² probably from peoples not sufficiently settled to be amenable to a regular tithe system. In some cases this may have been in kind, but the whole question of provincial taxation at this time is very obscure. As in Sicily, there were probably custom dues of 5 per cent. on goods entering or leaving Sardinian harbours, an amount reduced by half under the Empire; and there were dues on State pasturages, salt-works, and mines. No military service was imposed on the islanders except on the summons of the governor for home defence, and something was done to open up the interior by the construction of roads, which, however, mostly date from a later period.

There is no direct authority as to the title of the governor in the first years. The consuls were still responsible for all the possessions of the State, and native risings often called them to Sardinia in person. At other times a deputy, perhaps a quæstor, commanded the troops. In 227 the people took over the appointment of governor, and the college of prætors was enlarged by the election in the centuries of two new officials, one to govern the Roman part of Sicily, one for Sardinia and Corsica. Henceforth, even when military exigencies required the despatch of a consular army, the prætor continued his judicial functions within the province. The first Sardinian prætor was M. Valerius.³

¹ Liv. 25, 3.

² Liv. 41, 17; Cic. *l.c.*

³ Solin. V. 1.

Attitude of Rome to Natives

Under the prætor stood a quæstor, who supervised the collection of State dues, and, as elsewhere, these were raised by representatives of the tax-farming companies to which the right had been allotted by the censors. The seat of government is unknown, but the fact that the early road system radiated from Nora, previously a leading Punic centre, suggests that this was the governor's residence.¹ By the age of Cæsar, Carales had become the capital, as it has since remained.

The attitude of the Romans to the natives of the interior was much the same as to the wild beasts of Africa. The Sards made repeated marauding expeditions, pillaging the plain-dwellers without mercy. The governors retaliated by forays into the mountains; the tribesmen were hunted down with bloodhounds,² their villages burned, and they were sold into slavery in Italy by the thousand. Yet they did not altogether lack the power of combination, and sometimes gathered such large armies as to call for the presence of a consul with two or more legions to support him. In pitched battles the legionaries were usually successful, but the interior was not really reduced even under the Empire.³ The poverty and unhealthiness of the country did not encourage the senate to sacrifice the large forces required for a thorough pacification, but in course of time the brigandage, into which the insurrectionary spirit degenerated, could

¹ Cf. *C. I. L.* X. 2, p. 786.

² Zon. VIII. 18.

³ *Liv. Ep.* XI.; *Strab.* V. 2, 7; *Tac. Ann.* II. 85.

Early Native Rebellions

be held in check by a few auxiliary corps, composed of Ligurians or Sards whose adventurous disposition led them to enter the Roman service.

Serious native risings, secretly supported by Carthage, began immediately after the first annexation, and triumphs were claimed by three successive consuls: T. Manlius Torquatus (235), Sp. Carvilius (234), and M. Pomponius Matho (233). The last of these carried his arms farther into the mountains than his predecessors, and pursued his enemies and their cattle even among the caves, thickly overgrown with wood, in which they had taken refuge.¹ Further disaffection was roused by the constant imposition of military governors after the change of 227, and two years later we again find a consular army under Atilius Regulus.²

The Second Punic War was heralded by a series of portents carefully preserved by Livy.³ A knight, as he visited the watch on the walls of a Sardinian town, found that the staff which he held was glowing in his hand; flames shone out on the coast; two shields were covered with blood; and soldiers were struck by lightning. The nervousness reflected in these tales expressed itself also in the maintenance of a powerful garrison, which even gave rise to the complaint at Rome that a prætor and

¹ Zon. *l.c.*; *Act. triumph.*, Vell. II. 38; Eutr. III. 3. After the victory of Torquatus the temple of Janus was closed for the second time.

² Cf. Zon. VIII. 19; Liv. *Ep.* XX.; Polyb. II. 23 and 27.

³ XXII. 1.

Second Punic War

legion were being wasted in a part not very susceptible of attack.

The first years of the war passed uneventfully, but the governor found it difficult to keep his military and naval forces supplied. As the hard-pressed home government could not, in the year of the defeat of Cannæ, send any help, he was obliged to have recourse to the Sardinian municipalities, which generously supplied both victuals and pay.¹ The events of the next year, 215,² show that the senate was wise in keeping up a garrison in an island where there was still much disaffection, lying as it did between Hannibal in Italy and relief from Carthage.

The contributions of the previous year had not been raised by the Romans without some harshness, and secret emissaries of Carthage fanned the natives' ill-will. The chiefs of the more civilized west-central tribes, who were already weary of Roman rule, sent envoys to Africa, inviting the Punic government to seize the opportunity of recovering Sardinia before reinforcements from Rome and the new prætor, Q. Mucius Scævola, had arrived there. A large force was accordingly placed under Hasdrubal, surnamed the Bald, but it was delayed on its way by bad weather in the Balearic Islands. Scævola on his arrival was attacked by the prevalent malaria, and the retiring governor, Mammula, brought to Rome so serious an account

¹ Liv. XXIII. 21; Val. Max. VII. 6.

² Liv. XXIII. 32 sq.; Sil. *Pun.* XII.

Campaign of Torquatus

of the state of Sardinia that the senate ordered the urban prætor to enrol a complete legion of 5,000 men, with 500 horse, and to appoint a commander. Manlius Torquatus, who had taken a leading part in the reduction of the island twenty years earlier, was chosen, and on his arrival he docked his fleet at Carales and armed the marines for land fighting. With the existing garrison his forces are said to have exceeded 20,000, a figure which must be received with caution in view of the exhaustion of Rome at the time.

One of the centurions in the army was the Campanian Ennius, the father of Roman poetry, and Silius Italicus gives an enthusiastic account of the martial exploits of his forerunner in the path of epic, whose *Annals* he probably utilized in this part of his poem. The miraculous delivery of Ennius by Apollo, who diverted into the air the lance of the young chief Hostus, is, however, more likely a product of Silius's own imagination than a borrowing from the older poet. Some years later Ennius was still in Sardinia, and attracted the notice of Cato the censor, who brought the poet to Rome, where he soon became famous.¹

The Sardis were under the leadership of Hampsicora, who was the chief instigator of the revolt, and had helped to arrange the Punic alliance. He was probably a citizen of Cornus, a town which had been a leading Punic centre, and was also regarded as the capital of the Pelliti, or skin-clad

¹ Nep. *Cato*, I. 4; Jerome, *Chron.* 1777; [Vict.] *vir. ill.* 47.

Defeat of Sardo-Punic Army

natives. He had gathered a considerable force in the interior to oppose Torquatus, and then gone on a recruiting tour among the tribes of the remoter parts of the island, leaving his son, the hot-headed youth Hostus, in command. Owing to the failure of the Carthaginian reinforcements to arrive in time, Torquatus felt able to take the field at once, and Hostus readily joined battle. The rebels were utterly defeated, 3,000 fell, and the wreck of the army fled to Cornus, where their leader was then supposed to be.

About the same time the Punic fleet at last put in, probably at or near Sulci, obliging the Roman commander to return to Carales. The Phœnicians, including a number of Spanish mercenaries,¹ effected a junction with the Sards, and their fleet was sent away, only to be crippled by a Roman naval detachment. Hasdrubal was, however, now in sufficient force to march on the Roman base at Carales, pillaging as he went the territory of communities friendly to Rome. Torquatus did not shrink from an encounter, and after some slight skirmishes fought a pitched battle lasting four hours. The Sards were easily routed, but the Carthaginians resisted with obstinacy until they were at last outflanked. The slaughter in the allied army is said to have amounted to 12,000 men, with over 3,000 prisoners. Hasdrubal himself and Mago, a member of the Barcine family, were captured, and among the slain was the young Hostus. Hamp-

¹ Sil. XII. 378.

Naval Activity of the Time

sicora escaped with a few horsemen, but on hearing of his son's death he pierced his heart with a sword, choosing the night-time lest anyone should interrupt him. The defeated army took refuge in Cornus, which fell to the Romans in a few days; and the other revolted communities were compelled to give hostages and to supply pay and corn for the victors. Cornus became an important Roman town, but, as no pre-Roman remains have been found, Torquatus may have removed it to a fresh site. On the return of the conqueror and his troops to Italy, Scævola remained as proprætor, in command of two legions.

In 210 there was another Punic inroad.¹ A fleet of forty war vessels arrived off the east coast, and the admiral, Hamilcar, laid waste the Olbia district. On the appearance of the prætor Manlius Vulso he sailed southwards, and after devastating the neighbourhood of Carales returned to Africa with much booty. As far as our records go, this was the last time that a foreign army landed in Sardinia till the coming of the Vandals, over six centuries later; but owing to its position between the belligerent powers it continued for some years an important naval centre.

In 208 reports of extensive hostile preparations induced Scipio Africanus to detach fifty ships from his forces in Spain for the defence of Sardinia.² Three years later a fleet of 100 Punic merchantmen designed to supply Hannibal, then in Southern

¹ Liv. 27, 6.

² *Id.* 27, 22.

End of the Punic War

Italy, but lacking a sufficient convoy, was carried by adverse winds to the Sardinian coast. The governor, Cn. Octavius, possessing some naval force, sallied out, sank several ships, captured sixty, and forced the rest to return to Carthage.¹ In 202, when the war had been carried into Africa, the consul Tib. Claudius, while conveying naval reinforcements to Scipio, suffered disaster in a storm off the dreaded Insani Montes, and put into Carales with the remains of his fleet. The damaged ships were beached and refitted, but the dockyard was probably ill equipped, and the repairs took so long that Claudius was overtaken by winter, and as his office had expired he returned to Rome with nothing accomplished.² In this war Sardinia had proved of great service to Rome, both as a naval base and as a source of supply of corn and other necessities. The coast districts were apparently friendly, and the malcontents of the interior were made to feel that no foreign aid could be of any avail.

For some years now we only hear of the steady succession of governors, who held office for one, often for two years, and of the less frequent changes of garrison. Usually an entire legion was maintained for considerable periods,³ but sometimes allied troops were considered sufficient.⁴ There is to be noted in this period a possible trace of Italian

¹ Liv. 28, 46; App. *Hann.* 54.

² Liv. 30, 39; Zon. IX. 14.

³ *Id.* 32, 1.

⁴ *Id.* 31, 8.

Prætorship of Cato

colonization. A bronze tablet at the Etruscan town of Falerii contains a dedication to the Roman divine triad from 'the Faliscans who are in Sardinia,' and who formed an organized community, or *vicus*, under local magistrates.¹ The site of the settlement is unknown, but it may well have been Feronia not far from Olbia, as Feronia was the tutelary goddess of the Faliscan district.²

In 198 the prætor was M. Cato, who, besides suppressing a native revolt,³ set an example of sobriety and moderation rare with Roman governors.⁴ Instead of putting the province to expense for apparel, bedding, and entertainments to friends, he went on foot from town to town, with one attendant who carried a robe and a vessel for libations. He administered stern justice, banished usurers, and reduced the interest on loans.

The next important event is the rebellion of the east-central tribes, headed by the Ilienses, who, after giving some trouble in 181,⁵ in 178 attacked the peaceful part of the island. These Ilienses, whose descendants seem to have become the restless Barbaricini of the Empire, were throughout the fiercest opponents of Roman rule. The outbreak was allowed to progress for some time owing to a pestilence in Italy, which prevented the raising

¹ C. I. L. XI. 3078. The Saturnian verses on the back relating to a college of cooks are evidently unconnected.

² Strab. V. 2, 9.

³ [Vict.] *vir. ill.* 47.

⁴ Liv. 32, 27; Plut. *Cato*, 6.

⁵ Liv. 40, 19 and 34.

Successes of Gracchus

of proper forces. In 178, when the Roman garrison was small and enfeebled by malaria, the allied Ilienses and Balari advanced far to the south, and a despatch from the prætor Æbutius warned the senate of the gravity of the situation. This was confirmed by envoys from the Sardinian towns, a token that the more civilized districts were now friendly to Rome. They pointed out that, though the open country was hopelessly ravaged, the towns could still be saved.

One of the consuls for 177, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, father of the popular leaders, who had served with success in Spain, was ordered to enrol two citizen legions and a large force of allies, with any naval assistance that he required. This powerful army was at once led into Iliensian territory, where the hostile tribes were massed. As usual in pitched battles, the barbarians were defeated; their camp was captured, and 12,000 are said to have fallen. The captured arms were heaped up by the consul's orders and burned as an offering to Vulcan, and the Romans passed the winter in the friendly towns.¹ Gracchus, in consideration of his victory, was retained for a second year, supported by the former prætor Æbutius. In the next campaign 15,000 more natives are recorded to have been slain, a figure which, considering the small amount of sustenance obtainable in this barren district, must be immensely exaggerated. At any rate, the revolt was thoroughly crushed; tribes

¹ Liv. 41, 6.

Sardinian Slaves at Rome

which had previously been subject to tax were compelled to pay double dues, others had contributions of corn levied on them. Numerous hostages were taken, and a solemn thanksgiving lasting two days was ordered at Rome. In 175 Gracchus returned to celebrate his triumph, and an offering was set up in the temple of Matuta Mater, consisting of a tablet shaped like the island, with representations of battle-scenes worked on it, and an inscription attached: 'Under the command and auspices of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus the consul the legion and army of the Roman people subdued Sardinia. In that province over 80,000 of the enemy were killed or captured. After managing the public business with the greatest success, and restoring the revenues, he brought back his army safe and unharmed, and re-entered Rome in triumph a second time; on which account he offered this tablet to Jupiter as a gift.' A huge number of captives were sold into slavery, and the phrase *Sardi venales* became proverbial for anything cheap and worthless;¹ for the Sardinians, we are told, 'when enslaved either do not tolerate life at all, or, if they do live, wear out their owners by their dulness and insensibility.'²

This terrible punishment resulted in many years of comparative quiet and growing prosperity. For fifty years no consular army had to be employed, and from about 146 the governor was usually a proprætor.

¹ Fest. s.v.; cf. [Vict.] *vir. ill.* 57.

² Eustath. *Comm. Dion.* 460.

Orestes and C. Gracchus

In 126, however, the natives had again become so threatening that Sardinia was made a consular province under the command of L. Aurelius Orestes, who was detained for three years by the task of restoring peace. His quæstor was C. Gracchus, the future democratic leader, then twenty-seven years of age, who not only displayed courage in the field and clemency towards the conquered, but surpassed the veterans in activity and temperance. On the advent of winter, when lack of supplies caused sickness among the Roman troops, Orestes called on the provincials to provide clothing for the soldiers; but, on their despatching an embassy to Rome, exemption was granted. Gracchus, however, induced the islanders to give a voluntary supply, while the Numidian King Micipsa, out of regard for the quæstor, sent corn for the army's use.¹ After two years' service the senate, while relieving the garrison, retained Orestes and his quæstor in their offices, probably fearing a revival of the democratic agitation which had died down after the death of Tiberius Gracchus. Caius nevertheless, being unwilling to be permanently shelved, returned to Rome without leave, and defended his action before the assembly in a speech of which part is still extant: 'I have conducted myself in the province as I judged it to be to your interest, and not in accordance with my ambition. No cook's shop was maintained in my quarters, no handsome slaves. No one can say

¹ Liv. *Ep.* 60; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 1; [Vict.] *vir. ill.* 65.

Speech of Gracchus—Metellus

that a penny was received by me in gifts, or that anyone was put to expense on my account. I spent two years in the province, and, whereas I set out from Rome with money-belts full of money, I brought them back empty. Others carried home filled with money jars which they had taken out full of wine.'¹ While Gracchus was still at the height of his power, Orestes also returned and triumphed.

Henceforward a very small force sufficed to suppress the disorganized risings which still occurred. One of these procured a triumph for M. Cæcilius Metellus,² in 111, and under his governorship or shortly before may be placed a second instance of Italian colonization. A party of Campanians called Patulcenses are found established in the south-east of Sardinia near the river Sæprus, and in the west near Cuglieri,³ and Metellus had to settle the boundaries between the former group and a native community. That he failed to give satisfaction is shown by the disputes which were still unsettled 180 years later.

There are signs that the decay in the provincial administration which marked the later years of the Republic, and which was hinted at in the speech of C. Gracchus, was not without effect in Sardinia. Three governors at least were prosecuted for extortion within half a century, and only one was

¹ Gell. XV. 12.

² Sext. Ruf. *Brev.* 4; Eutr. IV. 25; Vell. II. 8.
7852, 7933; Pais, *Ricerche*, 592.

Trials of Oppressive Governors

acquitted—against the weight of evidence. The first was Albucius, the proprætor of 105, who with the help of a single auxiliary cohort suppressed an outbreak in the wilder part of the island, perhaps, caused by his own misgovernment. His adversaries are contemptuously referred to by Cicero as bandits in skins, and his application for a triumph was rejected. He, however, on his own authority celebrated a kind of triumph in Sardinia,¹ and on his return he was proceeded against for extortion under the Calpurnian law. The trial attracted attention from the competition between C. Julius Cæsar Strabo and Cn. Pompeius, father of the triumvir, for the right to prosecute. Pompeius, having been quæstor under the defendant, legally stood in a kind of filial relationship to him, and Cæsar was selected in the preliminary inquiry. The speech delivered by the latter was considered a fine specimen of the eloquence of the time, and was closely studied by his kinsman the dictator, himself one of the first orators of the age. In spite of the favourable evidence of native witnesses, probably hired, Albucius was condemned, and went into exile at Athens.²

About twenty years later may be placed the condemnation on a similar charge of C. Megabocchus,³ perhaps the father of the officer of that name who served under Crassus in the Parthian

¹ Cic. *Prov. cons.* 7, 15, *Pis.* 28, 92.

² *Id.* *Div. Cæc.* 19, 63, *Off.* II. 14, 50, *Tusc.* V. 37, 108; Suet. *Jul.* 55.

³ Cic. *Scaur.* 18, 40.

Civil Wars ; Piracy

War. A further token of the misgovernment of the time is the refusal of an upright prætor, probably L. Lucceius, an historian and friend of Cicero, to accept the Sardinian proprætorship, owing to the habitual misconduct of provincial officials.¹

The various civil wars extended to Sardinia, but there was not much serious fighting. In 83, L. Philippus, a deserter from the democrats, was entrusted by Sulla with the safe-keeping of the island, and he defeated and slew the Marian commander Q. Antonius Balbus.² In 78, M. Lepidus, after failing to overthrow the Sullan constitution, retired to Sardinia in the hope of raising further troops. Being repulsed by the proprætor Triarius, he died there of grief and disease, but his lieutenant Perperna succeeded in removing part of his army to Spain.³

A few years later the whole Western Mediterranean became the scene of the depredations of Cilician privateers, who swept the coasts of Sicily and Spain, and interfered with the export of Sardinian corn. The Lex Gabinia, by conferring supreme command on Pompey (67), enabled him to set representatives over fleets in all the threatened

¹ Dion C. 36, 41 (who has the impossible reading L. Lucullus).

² Liv. *Ep.* 86. The coins issued by Antonius with the title prætor were probably struck in Sardinia (Babelon, I. 158).

³ Liv. *Ep.* 90; Flor. II. 11; App. *B. C.* I. 107; Rutil. Namat. 296, 'Sardoam Lepido præcipitante fugam.'

Q. Cicero at Olbia

areas, and so clear the seas in a few months.¹ In 56, Pompey, being ordered by the Messian law to improve the corn-supply of the capital, personally visited the island,² and gave to Q. Cicero a special commission to buy and ship such corn as was needed in addition to the regular tithes. From the series of letters addressed to him by his brother the orator at this time,³ we learn that he was stationed at Olbia, the nearest port to Italy; and he carried out his duties so as to commend himself to the provincials for his honesty and good feeling.⁴ Yet the orator does not represent it as an agreeable task, bidding Quintus remember the unhealthiness of the island, and hinting that communications with Rome were infrequent, few finding it worth while to send a special messenger from the city.⁵

In 55 came the oppressive governorship of M. Æm. Scaurus, who had served as quæstor under Pompey in the East, and helped in the organization of the new Syrian province. In Sardinia he distinguished himself by extorting triple tithes, or three-tenths of the corn crop, from the landholders, besides other oppressions;⁶ and also became involved in a series of private scandals of which the echo remains in the speech delivered by Cicero in

¹ Flor. II. 41, 9; Plut. *Pomp.* 16; App. *Mith.* 95; Cic. *Manil.* XII. 34, where Sardinia is placed among 'frumentaria subsidia reipublicæ.'

² Cic. *Fam.* I. 9; Plut. *Pomp.* 50. ³ *Q. Frat.* II. 1-3.

⁴ Cic. *Scaur.* XVII. 39. ⁵ *Q. Frat.* II. 2, 1.

⁶ Mart. Cap. V. 469; cf. Val. Max. VIII. 1, for the widespread character of his depredations.

The Trial of Scaurus

answer to the charges of extortion brought after the return of Scaurus to Rome (54). That the details of a sordid tragedy in an obscure town of the least of the Roman provinces should claim the attention of one of the world's greatest orators is a token of the centralization which already characterized the provincial system.

Two Phœnicians of Nora, the old Punic colony on the south coast, both men of wealth, played the chief part. These were Bostar and Aris, the latter a name not uncommon in the Punic inscriptions of the island. The wife of Aris was rich, but ugly and disagreeable, and her husband, though anxious to be rid of her, was unwilling to lose her dowry. He had, further, become enamoured of a widow, also of Nora, known in the speech as the mother of Bostar. He resolved to elope with the latter lady to Rome, hoping there to find some means of effecting the marriage. During their absence, on the day when Nora emptied for the annual festival of the dead (probably celebrated in the cemetery, on the isthmus, which has disappeared except for a few graves), the deserted wife of Aris was found mysteriously hanged. It was given out that this was a case of suicide due to grief at her wrongs; but there was a strong suspicion that she had really been strangled by an agent of her husband. This man was known to have been in Nora at the time of the festival, and he had then hurried away to Rome, to inform his master, who at once concluded the alliance with the mother of Bostar. In these

Murder of Bostar

circumstances it is hard to see how Scaurus came to be charged with complicity in the crime, but Aris at the trial came forward to testify against him. A second accusation, apparently better substantiated, represented Scaurus as having poisoned Bostar when the latter was his guest, and as having hurried the funeral on, before even the fatal dinner was cleared away, in order to seize his estate.

In view of the fragmentary condition of the speech, the relation of the two charges cannot be ascertained. Cicero apparently attributes the second murder to Bostar's mother, who was his natural heiress and resented his attitude towards her relations with Aris. It would be most in accordance with the character of Scaurus, who, as Asconius says, behaved in his governorship 'without much self-control and very arrogantly,' to suppose that he took advantage of the absence of Aris to try and get the wife's dowry into his own hands, and forced her into suicide by threats of some kind, afterwards poisoning Bostar with a similar object.

It is unnecessary to enter on the tangle of contemporary politics, which are outlined in the argument of Asconius and drew general attention to the case at Rome. The prosecutor was P. Valerius Triarius, a son of the governor of Sardinia who had resisted Lepidus, who was thus able to pose as an hereditary protector of the province; while one of his principal witnesses was an islander who had gained the citizenship through the good offices of the elder Triarius. The unusual number of

Cicero on the Sardinian Character

six advocates defended Scaurus, and probably the defence against the main charge, that of extorting too much corn, was chiefly in the hands of Cicero's colleagues. The speech as we have it, with its sneering attitude to the oppressed provincials, offers (like the *Pro Flacco* of five years earlier) a painful contrast to the noble indignation which roused Cicero in his more independent days against the tyrannical governor of Sicily.

The Sards, we are told,¹ are a nation so unprincipled that in their minds freedom is only distinguished from slavery through the greater opportunity it gives for lying. He proceeds:²

'All the records of antiquity and every historical work inform us that the Phœnician race surpasses all in deceitfulness. The Carthaginians who were sprung therefrom proved, by the many occasions when they broke again into hostilities and violated or set at naught their treaty obligations, that they were no degenerate offspring. The Sards, with their African admixture, were not formally escorted to Sardinia by the Carthaginians and established there, but were banished and rejected immigrants. Unsound as the race was when still unalloyed, how greatly must it have been corrupted by all these transmigrations! My gifted associate and friend A. Domitius Sincaius, and others who have received the citizenship from Cn. Pompeius, will pardon me, all of whom we are ready to commend, and so will other worthy men originating in Sardinia, for I quite believe that there are such. When I speak of the defects of the race, I do not exclude all exceptions; but I have to speak of an entire class, in which it may be the character and good feeling of individuals have counteracted the failings of their lineage and race. Yet the very

¹ 18, 38.

² 19, 42-44.

Sardinia Declares for Cæsar

facts show that a large proportion of them lack fidelity, and have no alliance or association with our state; for what other province is there which has no free state, nor one on terms of friendship with the Roman people ?'

Scaurus was acquitted in the court of Repetundæ, but it is satisfactory to learn that he was soon after convicted of corrupt practices at the consular elections, and went into exile.

At the beginning of the great civil war, when Pompey retired to Greece, Cæsar, before starting on his Spanish campaign, assured himself of the fidelity both of Sicily and Sardinia, 'those pledges of the corn-supply,' as the historian Florus calls them, by the despatch of legates with a military force. Sardinia was then held by the senatorial governor M. Cotta, but as soon as the citizens of Carales, which now comes forward as the first town in the island, heard of the approach of Cæsar's representative Valerius, accompanied by a legion, they expelled Cotta from the city, and forced him to retire to Africa. This policy met with the approval of most of the islanders, who, like other provincials in the west, inclined to the anti-senatorial leader.¹ After Cæsar's assumption of the dictatorship, Sext. Peducæus was sent out as governor, and the majority of Cæsar's few war vessels were used to guard the approaches of Sicily and Sardinia, so that the dictator found himself somewhat embarrassed in effecting the crossing to Greece in

¹ Cæs. B. C. I. 30; Dion C. XLI. 18; Flor. II. 13; App. B. C. II. 40.

African War : Punishment of Sulci

pursuit of Pompey.¹ With Africa in the hands of the enemy, the islands had become of vital importance if Rome were to be saved from famine; but their safety was more than once threatened by the strong Pompeian forces concentrated in Africa during Cæsar's absence in the East. Naval raids were made, cities plundered, merchant ships seized, and arms or unwrought iron removed from the magazines, a token that the Sardinian mines were now active and metal work well developed.²

In the subsequent campaign in Africa, Cæsar's forces depended largely on supplies from Sardinia, whence auxiliary detachments were also drawn; and unfavourable weather, which impeded sea-communications, placed him in considerable temporary difficulties. Further, the island was not unanimous in his favour. The old Phœnician colony of Sulci, which may have been jealous of the predominance of Carales, had admitted and supplied the Pompeian admiral Nasidius at the time when Pompey was sending assistance to the besieged Massiliots. Accordingly, after crushing all opposition in Africa, Cæsar in his return voyage came to Carales, and, summoning thither the citizens of Sulci, inflicted a heavy fine. He also changed the annual tithe payable by them to an eighth of the produce, and caused the property of some of Pompey's leading partisans to be sold for the State.³ Not long after, the fleet which had made

¹ App. B. C. II. 54.

² Dion C. XLII. 56.

³ B. Afr. 8, 24 and 98; cf. Cic. Fam. IX. 7, 2.

Characteristics of Republican Age

Sardinia its headquarters for some years was removed, in order to operate against Cn. Pompeius in Spain.¹

From the annexation of Sardinia to the final victory of Cæsar nearly two centuries had elapsed. Archæological evidence is deficient during this period, and from historians only a very shadowy idea can be gained of the condition of the island under the Republic. The history of the time shows close analogies to that of Spain, with such modifications as might be expected in a much poorer and smaller country. In both the Romans found Carthaginians established in colonies along the south coast, exploiting the mines and compelling the natives to serve in their armies. In both this southern coast was studded with towns of mixed Phœnician and native traders and agriculturists, who displayed little repugnance to Roman sovereignty; in both the wild tribes of the interior could only be reduced after generations of hard fighting. Here the resemblance ceases; the few products of Sardinia were insufficient to build up a rich commercial class; a municipal system developed slowly; few citizen colonies were founded, and those not till the close of the Republic. Except for occasional raids, the wilder districts were perforce left to themselves.

Though no formal treaty of alliance existed, several native or Punic cities were on sufficiently

Reasons for Holding the Island

friendly terms to be styled allied States,¹ giving ready help to the Roman governors and armies, and no doubt benefiting by the protection afforded against the mountaineers. Yet the lot of these cities was not altogether satisfactory. They had to satisfy the incessant demands of Roman governors and tax-collectors, and were at the same time liable to be pillaged by the still untamed tribesmen. It was the task of the Empire to control the exactions of the Roman officials, to extend the road system into the ruder parts, to encourage the settlement of Italians and Greeks in the townships, and to develop the scanty material resources of the island, which, apart from corn, had been previously little studied.

It may be doubted whether the Republic really profited much by the occupation of the island, the expense of administering which must have more than made up for any taxation which could be raised. The first seizure was due to strategic needs in the struggle with Carthage; its retention may have been dictated by the fear that a foreign power or piratical chief might make it a centre from which to harry the shores of Italy. That such an eventuality was possible may be seen from the history of the years following Cæsar's death, and from the difficulty found in evicting such a pirate chief from Sicily and Sardinia, when once Roman dissensions gave him the command of the sea.

¹ 'Civitates sociæ benigne contulerunt' (Liv. XXIII. 21); cf. XLI. 6.

NOTE.

SARDINIAN CAMPAIGNS OF THE GRACCHI.

THESE are described so inconsistently by our meagre authorities that it may be well shortly to review the evidence. Three periods are in question: (1) The first occupation of Sardinia, about 238 B.C.; (2) the Second Punic War; (3) the campaign of 177-175 B.C.

1. Zonaras VIII. 18 (representing Dion Cassius): 'They took Sardinia from the Carthaginians without fighting, and a further sum of money, complaining that they injured Roman mariners.' In agreement with this, Polyb. I. 88; III. 10; Liv. XXI. 1; Appian, *Ib.* 4, *Lib.* 2, 5, and 86.

Vell. II. 38: 'Sardinia between the First and Second Punic Wars received the sure yoke of sovereignty under the leadership of T. Manlius the consul' (*Act. triumph.* of 235, T. Manlius Torquatus de Sardeis).

Festus, *Sardi Venales*: 'Sinnius Capito (grammarian of the Augustan age) says that T. Gracchus the consul, colleague of P. Valerius Falto (238 B.C.), subdued Sardinia and Corsica, and no other booty was taken than slaves, crowds of whom were sold very cheaply.'

2. Florus, I. 22, in his account of the Second Punic War: 'Gracchus seized Sardinia. It gained nothing from the fierceness of the Insani Montes. The cities were harried, and Caralis the city of cities; [and many prisoners were taken away] that this froward people, who cared nothing for death, might at any rate be tamed by absence from their native land.'

Livy, XXIII. 40-41, describes a campaign at this period in which T. Manlius Torquatus was the Roman general, and Carales, instead of being a seat of disaffection, was the Roman base. Gracchus, the consul for this year 215, was throughout employed in Campania.

3. Livy, XLI., gives the campaigns of Gracchus, father,

Campaigns of the Gracchi

of the democrat leaders, in 177-175, against the eastern tribes, Ilienses and Balari.

[Vict.] *vir. ill.* 57: 'Tib. Sempronius Gracchus conquered the Sards in his second consulship [it was really his first, 177; the second was in 163], and brought such a number of captives that, through the length of the sale, the phrase "Sards for sale" became proverbial.'

It will be seen that the only difficulties are caused by Festus and Florus, the other authorities being in general agreement. My own conclusions are, (1) as to the quotation from Sinius Capito, that Gracchus the consul for 238 did take possession of the coast districts without opposition in that year, but that the crowds of slaves resulted from the victories of his kinsman in 177. (2) Florus has evidently misplaced a passage properly referring to this same campaign of 177. His reference to cruelties shown towards Carales and other towns, if not a mere rhetorical flourish, does not fit in with this war, which was waged against the mountain tribes of the interior. It may really belong to the campaign of Torquatus in 235, or to one of his successors, the towns of Punic origin being still likely to make common cause with the natives, though later reconciled to Roman rule.

CHAPTER VI

CARALES

'Tenditur in longum Caralis, tenuemque per undas
Obvia dimittit fracturum flamina collem.
Efficitur portus medium mare; tutaque ventis
Omnibus ingenti mansuescunt stagna recessu.'

CLAUDIAN.

THE legendary founder of the island capital was the Greek Aristæus, who was said to have united the African colony of Sardus and the Iberians brought by Norax into a single community, with Carales as the capital and himself as the first king.¹ Pausanias describes it as a Carthaginian colony, and this is no doubt correct, even though some earlier Phœnician trading-station may have been incorporated.

The Roman town included three main groups of buildings (whence perhaps the plural form Carales, which has better authority than Caralis), extending along the hollow at the head of a sheltered bay.² It possessed a fine harbour, which then

¹ Solin. I. 60.

² Cf. N. S., 1905, 41, with a long article by Taramelli on the topography of Cagliari in the light of recent explorations.

Position and Earlier History

comprised the wide lagoon to the west, and was both larger and deeper than at present. The Castello hill, though not contained in the town, probably had a Punic citadel, whence perhaps the name Keret-al, 'highly placed town.' There was also some fortification under the Romans on the same spot, for fragments of their work are frequently found among the mediæval buildings which were erected on this natural acropolis. The hill is an isolated mass of rock, 400 feet high, and behind it begins the extensive plain, once rich in corn, called the Campidano. Towards the sea this plain becomes marshy, and there were on its border ancient salt-works. The western quarter, extending along the lagoon to the present S. Avendrace, included the principal cemeteries, both Punic and Roman, and in the early Empire had a number of fine buildings.

In the Hannibalic war, Carales, which had probably retained its Punic constitution, became the Roman base in the suppression of the local rebellion, and in the Civil war it remained faithful to Cæsar, who, to judge from the many freed municipal slaves entitled Julii, may have granted it citizen rights as a *municipium*. Under the Empire it was by far the most prosperous city in Sardinia, and the area covered, as well as the size of the amphitheatre, suggest a population of nearly 100,000. In the later Empire, when the seas became less secure, there are signs that the more exposed parts of the town were abandoned for residential purposes.

Local Constitution and Officials

Numbers of Christian catacombs are found dug in what was once a rich quarter, later given up to the purposes of a cemetery. Carales was still, however, the seat of government, and its spacious harbour played some part in the naval wars of the period.

In the Augustan age it appears as a Roman *municipium*, belonging to the Quirine tribe, with local *ordo*, or senate, and *quatuorviri*, or annual chief magistrates. Two of these were judicial functionaries, and every fifth year they prepared the assessment lists on which the direct taxation was based. The other two had the functions of Roman *ædiles*, especially as regards the supervision of public buildings, games, and police. There were also *Augustales*, an association, chiefly of freedmen, charged with the maintenance of the imperial worship, and several provincial and civic colleges. Other imperial or local officials are commemorated, as the record-keeper, *tabularius*, of the province, down to the *magister clavicularius*, or head-gaoler.¹

Carales was also the centre for the provincial council, presided over by the *sacerdos provinciæ*.² Its duties were mostly formal, relating primarily to the worship of the emperors and the celebration of festivals; but it had some powers of joint action, and would take the necessary steps for the prosecution of an oppressive governor at Rome. To this council deputies would gather from all organized communities in the island, and, so long as

¹ 7583-4, 7613.

² 7599, 7917, 7940.

Amphitheatre of Carales

Corsica was under the same governor, from there also.

The city was a regular station for a detachment of the Misenum fleet, several soldiers from which eventually settled there and are commemorated in inscriptions.¹

The oval amphitheatre, dating from early in the Empire, lay on the side of the hill north-west of Carales; and this, though injured by quarrying, is the best preserved public building. The greater part is hollowed in the calcareous rock, but the portion which spanned a ravine, together with the façade, were of masonry, now mostly removed. The total height was about 100 feet, in three stories, and it was capable of holding some 20,000 spectators. The two lower stories are in good condition, each with twenty rows of seats, the whole separated from the arena by a well-marked barrier, which would protect the populace from the wild beasts exhibited below. The vomitories, or openings from the upper corridors through which spectators arrived at their places, are clearly discernible. Beneath the arena are various chambers, some, to judge by the rings cut in the solid limestone of the walls, used to chain up the animals before the shows. Several aqueducts also cross each other beneath the amphitheatre, and some may have been used to flood the arena for a mimic sea-fight (*naumachia*). No records exist of any gladiatorial combats in Sardinia; the nearest approach is the mention of

¹ *Eph. Ep.* VIII. 709 sq.

Town Houses—Water Supply

a local *caterbarius*, as a somewhat illiterate inscription describes him¹—that is, a member of a troupe (*caterva*) of professional boxers, who would be let out to amuse the populace.

Numerous town houses, and on the outskirts others approaching more to the villa type, have been excavated. They have large bathing chambers, and dining-rooms with painted or stuccoed walls, and floors in mosaic. Houses on the slopes of the hill are provided with *exedræ*, or external lounges with seats commanding a fine view of the bay. Many kitchens and storerooms are also come upon, and elaborate systems of pipes, often carried into the house, and communicating with wells or cisterns. The foundation is frequently of rock, and both cisterns and mortars are found hollowed out in its surface.

Other reservoirs and cisterns were provided for public use, and were reached by means of wells. Though Cagliari is in summer one of the driest and hottest cities in Europe, no regular aqueduct has been found, and the inhabitants must have depended mainly on the storage of rain-water, which was gathered from the hills behind.

The only industry, apart from the shipping of agricultural produce, of which we have definite evidence, is the manufacture of earthenware vases, lamps, masks, or divine figures. The factory stood

¹ 7638; cf. *Bull. Arch. Sard.*, 1857, 64. But there seems some mistake in the age of the person commemorated, or the title may have become a personal one.

Earthenware Factory—Cemeteries

on a palisaded area projecting into the great lagoon to the west of the city, and the alluvial mud from the lagoon itself and from the river Manna, which here falls into it, would supply material for the work.¹ There must have been a regular colony of workpeople living here, for bones of edible animals, fruit, nuts, and pine kernels, have been recovered, as well as products of their craft—masks of Jupiter, Æsculapius, and Apollo, models of parts of the body designed as thank-offerings by persons who had been cured, wine-vessels, and sacrificial dishes. Some of the articles show Punic traits, and the factory may have been in existence before the Roman occupation.

Numbers of statues, lamps, jewelled and other ornaments, have been recovered in the excavations of the wealthier houses. One of the most interesting, recalling the Bacchic cult, which seems to have been widespread in this district in the imperial age, is a fine marble statue of Bacchus about life size. The head is missing, but the god is shown wearing a fawn-skin and standing by a tree, against which a panther is leaning.

The cemeteries are of great extent, and on both sides of the town. The Punic area at Avendrace, to the north-west, has recently been subjected to a fresh exploration;² and, though less productive than the graves of Tharros, it has supplied a number of ornaments and amulets, and a few inscriptions, apparently of about the fourth century B.C. Some

¹ N. S., 1893, 35 and 155.

² *Ib.*, 1909, 293 sq.

Punic and Roman Graves

of these tombs are mere shallow trenches, others are deeper, and reached from a kind of well cut at one end, about 7 feet deep, and opening to the sepulchral chamber by a doorway closed with a stone slab. In some are found small altars in the form of a truncated pyramid, the top hollowed with holes for libation. Among the inscriptions may be mentioned a dedication by Aris and his wife to Hawwat, an infernal goddess also commemorated at Carthage. Glass beads, Egyptian figures of serpents, Isis eyes, jasper scarabs, and bronze mirrors, all occur among the Punic sepulchral furniture, and there are some fine specimens of ear-rings. One shows a bird worked between the suspensory loop and the pendant jewel.¹ There is seldom more than one body in a grave, and cremation is very rare.

The Romans preferred excavating sepulchral chambers in the side of a hill, and used them for entire families. Some contain niches to hold the cinerary urns, others have long rectangular hollows, pointing to a partial retention of inhumation, perhaps among the less Romanized inhabitants. Curious forms of monuments are the tombstones shaped like a wine-cask. One face of this is sometimes planed away so as to present oblong panels on which the inscription is cut.² Another stone in the neighbourhood is marked with a circle containing the epitaph, and on each side of it Cupid and Psyche embracing.

¹ Maltzan, p. 80 (illus.).

² 7680, 7703.

The Grotto of Vipers

The remarkable monument of the early imperial age, now called La Grotta delle Vipere, was erected by a Roman exile, M. Cassius Philippus, and completed by his sons, in memory of his wife, Atilia Pomptilla, who after a marriage lasting forty-two years gave up her life, as the epitaph says, for her husband's sake. Probably she offered to some deity to die on behalf of Philippus when the latter was seriously ill, and actually did die. The epitaphs added by their sons suggest that he did not long survive her. Popular legend describes the cave as one where Hercules, before starting on one of his journeys, left treasures under the care of a demon. A small temple was hewn out of the rock, and provided with an external façade. This rests on two columns and two pilasters, and consists of a frieze and architrave, with a border of dentels. The architrave is inscribed, and above the inscription, in place of triglyphs, two serpents are carved between altars. From these the grotto derives its name, and, coupled with the epithet *Benedicta* here applied to Pomptilla,¹ they have given rise to the theory that the family were devotees of Isis.

Within is a vestibule, the walls bearing inscriptions separated by acanthus leaves; and a passage from this leads to the actual sepulchral chamber, the walls of which were encrusted with stucco-work, displaying acanthus leaves, a gorgon's head, snakes, etc. Recesses may have been de-

¹ 7563.

Epitaphs on Pomptilla

signed for sarcophagi, and in the wall at the end are two slabs, no doubt for the coffins of Philippus and Pomptilla. The Latin and Greek inscriptions,¹ both in prose and verse, are numerous, being variations on a single theme, probably contributed by a number of persons. The following may be taken as examples of the matter-of-fact Latin and the more imaginative Greek:

'A temple, traveller, thou deemest this,
And seekest oft to pay thy vows; yet know,
Pomptilla's ashes and her bones are hid
Beneath this rocky vault. Sardinia's earth
Doth press me down, who, true in banishment,
(So Fame reports) willed for my spouse to die.'

'I would, Pomptilla, that the violet's bloom
Or tender lily from thy bones might rise;
May rose leaves o'er thee wave, and may this tomb
Be gay with amaranth that never dies.
May fragrant saffron or fair snowdrop shine,
That, as Narcissus hath his flower, and he,
The much-wept Hyacinthus, so may thine
Be named Pomptilla by posterity.'

Near this grotto is a curious specimen of a *columbarium*, with two rows of niches containing earthenware vases, by one of which is an inscribed marble tablet.² The principal Christian catacombs are in a hill to the south-east of the city, in the Bonaria district.³ They comprise large chambers with narrow entries, and from them opened recesses

¹ 7563 sq.; *Eph. Ep.* IV. 484; Kaibel, 607 sq.

² 7720.

³ N. S., 1893, 183.

Inscriptions of Carales

for receiving the coffins. Several of the walls retain frescoes,¹ and the period seems to be early in the fourth century.

Of the inscriptions found in and about Carales, the Punic are few and the Greek far from common, whereas the Latin considerably exceed 300. Of the Punic, one² records the dedication of an altar of bronze to Astoret-Ark, the Venus-Astarte of Eryx in Sicily, the chief European shrine of the goddess. Another contains a dedication, to the lord Baalsamin of Hawk Island, of pillars and other offerings. This was a well-known Phoenician deity, 'lord of heaven,' also worshipped at Carthage, and, as we gather from this inscription, on the island of San Pietro, called by Ptolemy *Hieracon nesos*, near Sulci. Some Latin inscriptions also show that the Punic cults of Baal-Hercules and Eshmun-Æsculapius remained prominent under the Romans.

Inscriptions with historical reference cover a period of many hundred years, from the beginning of the Augustan age³ to the debased Latin of Justinian's time or later.⁴ Greek names are very frequent, mostly belonging to freedmen or small traders, and the early Christians included many Greeks. Several names appear to be of native origin,⁵ but the number of officials, soldiers, etc., who were stationed in the city, and ultimately

¹ Cf. p. 159.

² C. I. S., 140.

³ 7581.

⁴ 7753, 7777.

⁵ 7614, 7769.

Few Non-Italian Features

settled down there, tended to reduce the population to a uniform type. Under the Empire the general aspect and life of Carales can hardly have differed from those of most South Italian towns.

CHAPTER VII

THE EARLY EMPIRE

Οἱ πεμπόμενοι στρατηγοὶ τὰ μὲν ἀντέχουσι, πρὸς δ' ἀπαυδῶσιν
 ἐπειδὴ μὴ λυσιτελῇ τρέφειν συνεχῶς ἐν τόποις νοσηροῖς στρατόπεδον.—
 STRABO.

ON the formation of the second triumvirate (43), after the first reconciliation between Octavian and Antony, Sardinia was among the provinces allotted to the former;¹ but the growth of the maritime power of Sextus Pompeius soon threatened its security. The triumviri were occupied in crushing the armies of the Liberators in the East, and Sextus, aided by the roving pirates of the Mediterranean, succeeded in establishing himself in Sicily. Soon after, on the outbreak of fresh disputes between Antony and Octavian, he found himself, as the declared ally of Antony, strong enough to seize Sardinia. The command of the two legions which garrisoned it was thus taken over by the Pompeian admiral Menodorus or Menas.² Large finds, near Olbia,³ of coins struck by Antony about this time perhaps point to his having stationed a naval or military detachment in aid of Pompeius at this strong harbour town. The Cæsarean general M.

¹ App. B. C. IV. 2. ² *Ib.* V. 66, Dion. C. XLVIII. 30.

³ *N. S.*, 1904, 168.

Sardinia under Sextus Pompeius

Lurius, who held high command later at Actium, drove back the Pompeian forces on their first landing; but having recklessly pursued the enemy, he was overcome by an unexpected rally. The Sardinian cities at once came to terms with Menodorus, except one which, reinforced by many fugitives from the battle, only surrendered after a siege (40). The historian describes this as Aradis, but no town of the name is known, and the place can hardly be any other than the provincial capital Carales, which had already shown its devotion to the Cæsarean cause.

Menodorus, originally a freedman of the elder Pompeius, was of a shifty and self-seeking disposition, though a skilled captain. In the sequel he proved treacherous to both sides, and on the present occasion released Helenus, a favourite freedman of Octavian, without ransom, with a view to securing a refuge if compelled to leave the Pompeian service.

Sextus now controlled the corn-supply of Sicily and Sardinia, while his fleet could seriously interfere with the African convoys. The Roman government, finding that discontent was rising in the capital at the increase of prices, and incapable of financing the naval war further, came to terms with Sextus. His rights to Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, for five years were acknowledged, and his followers were granted an amnesty. In return, by the treaty of Misenum, he undertook that the usual supplies should reach Rome (39).¹

¹ App. *B. C. V.* 73.

The Augustan Settlement

From the frequency of Pompeius as a gentile name in the island, it is concluded that many of his slave or freedmen followers were given lands or settled in Sardinia.¹ Menodorus was left by him as governor, with the title of prefect, aided by a procurator, Tiberianus.² Next year, finding himself suspected by his master, Menodorus made overtures to Octavian, surrendering the island and the Pompeian fleet stationed there.³ Though the war was soon renewed, Sardinia remained in Octavian's possession.

In 27 B.C., when the Empire was formally inaugurated by the division of provinces between Augustus and the senate, Sardinia seemed sufficiently pacified to be placed under a senatorial ex-prætor with the title of proconsul. As in republican times, he was aided by a quæstor, who now had a certain jurisdiction analogous to that of the curule ædiles at Rome, in addition to his financial duties. The taking of a regular census enabled the tithe system to be abandoned for a tax on each estate, determined according to its size and productiveness. This was raised directly by the quæstor's agents, the old tax-farming companies being now restricted to other branches of the revenue.

In A.D. 6 a renewal of the activity of the mountain tribes, or 'brigands,' led to the substitution of an

¹ 7652, 7692, 8046; *N. S.*, 1903, 535.

² Cf. La Marmora, pl. 33, 4, an illustration of a bronze, inscribed in silver letters *MENATIS PRAEF. TIBERIANI PROC.* These tablets may have been distributed among the chief islanders to inform them of the new governor's arrival.

³ Dion C. XLVIII. 45.

Development of Municipal System

imperial procurator of equestrian rank, in command of a force of auxiliaries, for the proconsul.¹ In virtue of his military authority he was often described as a prefect, occasionally as 'procurator legatus,'² the latter being the usual title of the military governor in an imperial province.

The Augustan age was one of considerable development, especially in the direction of transforming the more civilized native or Punic communities into regular municipalities by the grant of Roman or Latin rights. Before the time of Cæsar only individuals who had done good service were thus enfranchised.³ Carales, the capital, perhaps as early as Cæsar's age, became a citizen municipality attached to the Quirine tribe, and Sulci obtained similar privileges. Turres received a Roman colony before the time when Pliny wrote, and the citizens belonged to the Colline tribe. Uselis, a small town in the interior, not far from Tharros, gained colonial rights at a later date, and was from early in the Empire probably a Latin *municipium*. Cornus at an uncertain date became a colony with senate and assembly;⁴ and some self-government must have been possessed by Valentia, Neapolis, Bosa, and Othoca, the last of which stood at the mouth of the chief Sardinian river, and was joined to Carales by two roads.⁵

¹ Dion C. LV. 28.

² *Eph. Ep.* VIII. 742.

³ Cic. *Scaur.* 19, 43; *Balb.* 18, 41.

⁴ 7915.

⁵ Cf. Pais, *Ricerche*, 614, and references. Several of these places probably had Latin rights, which elsewhere formed a stepping-stone to full membership of the Roman State.

Benefits conferred by the Empire

Though Augustus, in his autobiography preserved in the Ancyra tablet, claims no colonial foundations in the island, it is clear that the municipal system could only have been extended to so many centres by means of the settlement of a considerable number of Italians, and many of these were only freedmen or members of the lower orders. The more civilized parts of Sardinia were evidently largely assimilated under the early Empire. The use of Punic died out; many of the tribesmen became village agriculturists, grouped round municipal centres, or lesser units called *vici*, which, however, could usually elect their own magistrates. Easy communications were provided by roads connecting all the principal towns. The governors, despite occasional complaints of extortion, proved benevolent patrons, laying out streets¹ or exercising-grounds,² or arbitrating in boundary disputes.³ In some cases descendants of the old republican generals who had won victories in the island seem to have kept up an hereditary patronage. The Metellus who presented the *ambulationes* to Carales under Augustus may have been a descendant of the consul who triumphed in 111 B.C. A Mucius Scævola, probably of the family of the prætor who commanded in the Second Punic War, paid for public buildings at Nora,⁴ and we again meet with the name of L. Aurelius Orestes.⁵

¹ 7516 (Sulci).

² 7581 (Carales); cf. *N. S.*, 1897, 279.

³ 7852.

⁴ 7543.

⁵ 7579.

Banishments to Sardinia

From early in the Empire,¹ Sardinia became a place of banishment for persons obnoxious to the government. Under Nero, the wealthy freedman Anicetus, who had been the tool of some of the emperor's crimes; C. Cassius Longinus, a celebrated jurist who paid undue respect to his ancestor, the murderer of Cæsar; and the prætorian prefect Crispinus, who was accused of conspiring against Nero, were all banished here.² The pathetic verses celebrating Philippus and his wife Pomptilla, who lived in exile at Carales about the same period, have already been referred to. An expulsion on a larger scale brought to Sardinia some 4,000 Orientals in A.D. 19. The conservative zeal of Tiberius led him to promote a senatorial decree for the removal from Rome of freedmen who professed Jewish or Egyptian tenets, probably Greek or Asiatic proselytes. Those of suitable age were to be incorporated in a regiment designed to check the brigandage which still prevailed in parts of Sardinia; and it was felt, adds Tacitus,³ that if they perished through the unhealthiness of the climate the loss would not be seriously felt.

The Sardinian musician Tigellius flourished early in the Augustan age, and was on intimate terms with both Cæsar and Augustus, being referred to

¹ A still earlier exile (perhaps *c.* 100 B.C.) was Servius Nicanor, an author and early teacher of literature at Rome (Suet. *Gramm.* V.).

² Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 62, XVI. 9 and 17.

³ *Ib.* II. 85; *cf.* Jos. *Ant.* 18, 3; Suet. *Tib.* 36.

Tigellius—Large Estates

more than once by Cicero and Horace.¹ Though probably only a freedman, he incurred the hostility of several prominent men at Rome, and is called by Cicero, in allusion to the Sardinian malaria, 'more pestilential than his country.' Horace taxes Tigellius with liberality to the undeserving, and says that he would never sing if asked, or stop when not asked; while even Augustus could not induce him to perform against his will. His fame, such as it was, has induced the townspeople to give his name to a Roman house of considerable size excavated some years ago at Cagliari.

Though the system of *latifundia* never attained such dimensions as in the more fertile Africa, there are allusions to large estates sufficiently important to give their name to the *coloni*, or tenants, who were regarded as incorporated in a kind of tribe, and were separated from their neighbours by regular boundary-stones.² The proprietors would usually be wealthy Romans who lived in Italy and managed their estates through a bailiff. Thus, Acte, the Greek mistress of Nero, had estates in Sardinia, and freed men or women who had once been slaves on them are often commemorated.³ One such freedwoman conducted a tile factory near Olbia,

¹ Cic. *Fam.* VII. 24, *Att.* XVIII. 49; Hor. *Sat.* I. 2, 3, I. 3, 3 *sq.* The scholiast on Horace quotes a sarcastic verse of Calvus, 'Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit,' which points to his having once been a slave.

² *Eph. Ep.* VIII. 719.

³ 7640, 7980, 7984, 8046; *N. S.*, 1911, 242; Pais, *Ricerche*, 560.

Imperial Freedmen—Road System

and tiles with her mark are common in the island. Similarly, the numerous freedmen of Augustus whose names are preserved, many of whom assumed the title Julius, and were of Greek or Oriental origin, once worked on the imperial estates which fell to the emperor through confiscation or inheritance. They were especially common in the districts of Olbia and Carales.¹

Nora was the earliest starting-point of the Roman roads. It had one to Carales, and a short stretch leading westwards to Bitia, both frequently mentioned in inscriptions, and repaired several times in the later Empire.² From the time of Cæsar, Carales was the chief road centre, and in ready communication with all the other towns. The finest roads consist of large polygonal stones, with a layer of small stones or pebbles either above or below them, bound together with clay and solidified with earth. One fine specimen, still well laid out and 25 feet wide in parts, was that which led from Carales to Turres in the north-west. It is mentioned in an Augustan inscription,³ and may have been due to the Carthaginians in the first instance. It cut across the south-west corner from Carales, passed not far from Tharros, and so near the west coast to Turres. A fork connected it with Olbia, the chief port in the north-east, and a secondary road diverging from the Olbia branch led to Tibula, from which was the shortest crossing to Corsica.

¹ 7951; *N. S.*, 1888, 224.

³ *Eph. Ep.* VIII. 742.

² 7996 sq.

Communications with North—Names

A more circuitous route, repaired under **Vespasian**, led from Carales to the west coast, past Nora and Sulci, and gave access to the important mining district of Iglesias. Another ran north-east from Carales to the east coast, and continued to the neighbourhood of Olbia, from which Tibula could be reached.

The Antonine Itinerary is here somewhat unsatisfactory, as it includes only four roads, ignoring the main Carales-Turres artery, and laying special stress on the Olbia and Tibula connections. These were of military rather than commercial importance, both as facilitating the conveyance of troops to or from Italy and Corsica, and as giving access to the restless northern and eastern tribes. The imperial post no doubt existed, but our earliest allusion to it in Sardinia belongs to the fourth century.¹ Road building and repairing continued active even when the Empire had begun to decay, and names of short-lived princes of the third century, such as Philip, Valerian, Carus, and Carinus, are common on the milestones.

The spread of Roman nomenclature is a proof of the advancing civilization. Though in some central parts, even under the Empire, barbarous names, Bolcia, Nercadaus, Beviranus, Amoccada, lasted on,² they were mostly given Latin endings; and here and there there was a tendency to add a Roman alias: Julia Valeria quæ et Ginsora, Julia Fortunata quæ et Epangielosa. In the towns, apart from the numerous Greek freedmen or petty traders, the

¹ Cod. Theod. II. 8, 1.

² A long string occurs in *N. S.*, 1906, 198 of Nero's time.

Military System

nomenclature is almost entirely Roman, and Punic names disappear after the Augustan age. The occurrence of Syra as a proper name, dedications to Egyptian deities and to the North Syrian war-god Jupiter Dolichenus,¹ and a few Jewish tombs at Sulci, suggest the presence of a certain Oriental element; but no Mithraist dedications are known, and the Eastern mystery religions evidently exercised less influence than in Italy or Southern Spain.

The garrison under the Empire consisted entirely of auxiliary forces, two cohorts, each as a rule numbering 800 to 1,000 men, either natives of the island or of Corsica or Liguria.² Better troops would not be readily exposed to the unhealthy climate. Sometimes the cohorts were of mixed nationality, as Sard-Corsican, or Ligurian-Corsican,² and consisted both of horse and foot,³ commanded by prefects. After twenty-five years' service the soldiers usually received the franchise, which passed to their descendants.⁴ Other cohorts raised in the island were stationed in Eastern Mauritania.⁵ There are also references to islanders who served as legionaries in other provinces, and returned home after their discharge.⁶

¹ 7949 (Turres).

² 7883, 7890.

³ Cf. *N. S.*, 1893, 105, an Olbian inscription, of Nero's time, on a decurio and princeps in an equestrian detachment.

⁴ 7891.

⁵ *C. I. L.* VIII. 9047, IX. 2853; for their stations cf. G. Ferroglio in *Nuova Antologia*, September, 1916.

⁶ 7891; cf. 7884 for a Sardinian trumpeter in a Lusitanian cohort.

Naval Detachment : Changes by Nero

A detachment of the Misenate fleet¹ was constantly stationed at Carales, and probably at times also near Metella, on the west, and at Olbia, on the east coast. This was a necessary precaution, for piracy even in Strabo's time had not been entirely suppressed in Sardinia itself, while the North African coast sheltered many raiders. The marines in this fleet included some Sards, who, like the soldiers, settled at home on their discharge; and others served in the fleet of Ravenna.²

There are few references to misgovernment at this time. Not only did the governor receive a regular salary from Rome, but his staff acted as a more efficient check, and the growth of *municipia* took some power out of his hands. A rare example of misconduct in an imperial province is the condemnation of the procurator Vipsanius Lænas for extortion in 57.³ Ten years later Nero again surrendered Sardinia to the senate, while granting nominal freedom to Achaia. He did not, however, withdraw the small garrison, and for a few years we find, as previously in Africa, a proconsul in command of an army.

It is one of the drawbacks of our practical limitation to epigraphic evidence that the Roman and civilized side of provincial life under the Empire becomes unduly prominent. Some 700 Latin inscriptions are known, besides thirty or forty Greek; but a great proportion belong to three or four principal towns—indeed, nearly half to Carales

¹ 7535, 7592, 7595.

² 8325.

³ Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 13.

Wilder Districts little affected

alone. Yet as many as twenty-two peoples, according to the calculation of Pais, wholly lacked an urban centre, and large tracts, where reading and writing were unknown, have no inscriptions at all. Some of these districts, known even in the Augustan age as *Barbaria*, and representing the territory of the old *Ilienses*, were placed under the despotic rule of a prefect of the Corsican cohort, of the humble rank of an *evocatus*.¹ These tribesmen continued to make the occupation of some of the more fertile fields unsafe,² and the Roman officers often found it the wisest policy to ignore their forays.³

Under Vespasian, probably in 74, when Greece was restored to the senate, Sardinia was again placed under a procurator *præfectus*, and so remained till the end of the second century. Thus, in A.D. 83 we read of his having roads and sewers repaired at Carales out of both public and private funds.⁴

A translation may be added of part of an important inscription of the time of Otho,⁵ found in the neighbourhood of the river *Sæprus*. It illustrates the working of the Roman administration, and the obstinacy of the inhabitants in resisting magisterial decisions. It also shows that no dislocation was caused by the change of government under Nero, a case passing successively under the cognizance of

¹ *C. I. L.* XIV. 2954: 'Sex. Julius evocatus D. Augusti præfectus I. cohortis Corsorum et civitatum Barbariæ in Sardinia.'

² *Varr. R. R.* I. 16, 2.

³ *Strab.* V. 2, 7.

⁴ 8023-4; *N. S.*, 1897, 279.

⁵ 7852; cf. *Hermès* II. 102, III. 167.

Inscription under Otho

Rixa, procurator about 66, Cæc. Simplex, proconsul 67-8, and Agrippa, proconsul 68-9. The subject is a boundary dispute, and the efforts made by a series of governors to settle it. The volume of the *Acta* referred to at the outset was brought out from the Roman archives, in this case the *ærarium*, Agrippa being a senatorial governor; the earlier decree subsequently quoted would be deposited in the imperial *tabularium*. It was issued by one of the secretaries, and a copy taken of the decree which the retiring proconsul had handed in on his return to Rome. This was certified by the seals of eleven persons whose names are appended to the copy, and it was then sent to Sardinia, probably to the Patulcensian municipality, and engraved on a bronze tablet. In Roman law such tables alone were evidence in disputes about land. A further copy, which survives, was set up on the debated territory.

‘On March 18th, in the consulship of Otho Cæsar Augustus, copied and certified from the bound¹ records of L. Helvius Agrippa, which records the quæstor’s scribe Cn. Egnatius Fuscus issued; in which was written as follows. On March 13th L. Helvius Agrippa the proconsul, after taking cognizance of the case, pronounced: *Whereas* it is expedient in the public interest to adhere to legal decisions, and the eminent M. Juventius Rixa, imperial procurator, has more than once given judgment in the case of the Patulcenses, that their boundaries should remain as determined by M. Metellus on a bronze tablet; *and whereas* he finally declared his will to punish the

¹ *Ansatus*, consisting of several pages fastened together with threads.

Proconsular Decree of Agrippa

Galillenses (who many times brought up the dispute afresh and would not abide by his decision), but out of regard for the clemency of our mighty and excellent sovereign was content to warn them in an edict to remain quiet and adhere to the decision arrived at, and before October 1st next to withdraw from the land of the Patulcenses and give up vacant possession, while if they continued in contumacy he would severely punish the authors of such insubordination; *and whereas* the most distinguished senator Cæcilius Simplex, being approached with reference to the same case by the Galillenses, who declared that they would produce a tablet from the imperial archives relating to the affair, pronounced that it would be in accordance with humanity that a delay should be given for proof, and granted a space of three months till December 1st, *and* if the formula were not produced by that date he would observe the formula extant in the province; *and whereas* I also, being approached by the Galillenses, who alleged that the formula had not yet been brought, granted a delay till February 1st next ensuing, and understand that the delay is acceptable to the occupiers: the Galillenses are hereby required to withdraw from the land of the Patulcenses which they have violently occupied before April 1st next; and if they do not obey this pronouncement, let them know that they will be amenable to the penalty for their prolonged contumacy which has been already repeatedly pronounced against them.'

The penalty would strictly be banishment, sedition being looked on as a form of *majestas*, but probably only a fine was actually contemplated. This is followed by the names of the persons forming the proconsul's council when he issued the decree, his *legatus pro prætore*, *quæstor pro prætore*, and six other *comites*. It is not clear whether the governor was voluntarily chosen as an umpire, or whether Rixa, the last procurator, acted as the emperor's

The Governor's Council

representative. Appeals on such subjects direct to the emperor became the usual procedure, of which we have a good example in the reply of Vespasian to the Corsican community of Vanacini.¹ A case of this kind did not fall within the competence of the governor as a judicial officer, and he could issue no decree without the advice of his *consilium*, which would naturally include the only legate attached to the governor of a minor senatorial province. The legate had no special functions apart from advising his chief, but, unlike the provincial quæstor, he was always a senator. Of the six *comites*, a father and a son are both mentioned, the son's name coming first, so that he had probably held one of the minor Roman magistracies, the other persons being only knights.

Such inscriptions show that some knowledge of Roman law existed outside the chief urban centres, and that the Roman dominion was not, like that of the Carthaginians, a mere commercial exploitation of the coasts.

For a century after the accession of Vespasian, Sardinia vanishes from history; but though the prosperous age of Trajan and the Antonines is a blank, extant remains indicate that provincial life was active and well developed, and public buildings comparatively numerous. Forum Trajani, a new business centre in the neighbourhood of some important medicinal baths near the west coast, now first appears, and in the later Empire became

¹ Cf. Bruns, *Fontes jur. R.*, 7th ed., 254.

History in the Second Century

a strongly fortified outpost against the mountaineers. Under the Antonines are the first trustworthy references to the presence of Christians in Sardinia.

In the reign of M. Aurelius there was another short-lived change in the form of government. Owing to incursions of Moorish pirates in Southern Spain, the emperor found it desirable to place a military governor in Bætica, and compensated the senate by restoring Sardinia to proconsular rule. Thus, the future emperor Septimius Severus, who had originally been intended to act as quæstor in Spain, was subordinated to the Governor of Sardinia.¹ Under Commodus we again find a procurator,² who by about the time of Aurelian had acquired the title of *præses*.³

When Severus had gained the throne, and his African prefect Plautianus was still regarded as all-powerful, the number of the prefect's statues at Rome had become so excessive that Severus, already weary of his favourite's arrogance, ordered several to be melted down. The report of this spread to the provinces, and certain governors also overthrew the statues of the same Plautianus. Among these was the Sardinian procurator, Racius Constans, who was subsequently accused before the emperor and punished; for Severus had not yet definitely resolved to cast aside his fellow-countryman and the father-in-law of the emperor's son Caracalla.⁴

¹ Spart. *Sev.* 2.

² Hippol. *Ref. Hæv.* IX. 12; *C. I. L.* V. 2112; *cf. N. S.*, 1897, 279. ³ *Cf. Class. Rev.* IV. 66. ⁴ *Dion. C.* 75.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHIEF CITIES OF SARDINIA

'Ipsas magnas civitates non existunt, ip̄as antiquas ecclesias sunt destructas, et omnes delicias de Sardinia sunt comodo umbras de ipsos gigantes, fumu de ip̄os montes, undas de ipsu mare dispersas.'—CODICI DI ARBOREA.

A REVIEW of the cities of Sardinia, especially those on the coast, is a depressing task. All except Carales were practically deserted in the Middle Ages for positions less exposed to piratical attack, and the ruins are slight in every case.

NORA was a maritime town of some importance about thirty miles south-west of Carales. The district, which, though subject to malaria, is rich in corn and oil, is now known as S. Efisio, and the town of Pula is largely constructed of the ruins of Nora. The ancient city lay on a rocky peninsula joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus, a position such as was often sought after by Phoenician colonists. There were two harbours, the more easterly forming part of the Gulf of Cagliari; and Nora was easily recognizable from the sea and from Carales itself. Being well placed for defence, it never seems to have been fortified; but there are

Origin of Nora

still ruins of a Punic watch-tower, perhaps of the fifth century B.C., on the chief strategic point. It is a rectangular building, once of two stories, and now lacking an entrance, as the destroyed upper floor would be reached by an external staircase. Roman ruins adjoining show that it continued in use at a later date.

The name of the city is probably derived from the Semitic *nur*, lamp or light, and this or some other tower may have had a beacon on it. Pausanias ascribes the origin of the place to a group of Iberian colonists under Norax, son of Mercury and Erythea, and assigns Tartessus, the great commercial centre of early Spain, as the native town of Norax. In historic times Nora was clearly Phœnician in the main, and it was probably the earliest settlement, antedating the Carthaginian occupation. A possible origin of the Iberian tradition has been found in a few Iberian inscriptions, written in the modified Semitic alphabet usual with Spanish tribes, but, like the records of the latter, now unintelligible.¹ They seem of no high antiquity, and may emanate from Spaniards settled among the Punic population about the third century B.C.

There are traces of harbour works and of long storehouses adjoining, planted on the rock, but now partly under water, the sea having greatly encroached on the peninsula since Roman times. Clear indications remain of an early nuraghi

¹ Cf. von Landau in *Mittheil. der Vorderasiat. Gesell.* 1903, III. 4 and 8.

Punic and Roman Remains

population, and excavations have also brought to light many Punic relics. There is a sanctuary, a smelting furnace (probably enclosed in brick, and used for the extraction of zinc from the calamine which is found in abundance in the neighbourhood),¹ a pottery furnace, a cemented canal bringing water into the settlement, and a number of rock tombs, once reached by short flights of steps. Some of these contain articles of the sixth century B.C., or even earlier, and the jewellery is earlier and simpler than that of Tharros. There are, however, ornate ear-rings, gold plates in the shape of a leaf or a feather, and vases both of Etruscan and Campanian types.

Of the Roman age there is an aqueduct, a theatre, and a cemetery of imperial times. The theatre, locally known as the Leoniera, is small, of the usual Roman type, with the seats well preserved.²

Nora is held by Mommsen to have been the seat of the Roman government in the earlier period, and it was the starting-point of roads to Bitia and Carales. It was the scene of the tragic events described in Cicero's *Pro Scauro*, and under the Empire probably became a *municipium* with Roman rights.³ Later it is seldom referred to; the cemetery is poor, and the bodies of women and children largely preponderate. Probably the commercial activity of Carales drew away many of the inhabitants, and inscriptions of the imperial age

¹ *Mon. Ant.* XIV: 147. ² Plan in *La Marmora*, pl. 37.

³ 7542; *N. S.*, 1901, 286.

Inscriptions of Nora

are few. One belonging to the early Empire records how M. Favonius Callistus,¹ presumably a Greek freedman, an Augustalis, set up an offering to Juno in honour of his daughter Favonia Vera, who had presented to the citizens of Nora a house at Carales. This, as the head of the *conventus*, or assize district, would draw many Norenses for business, and the house may have been for their rest and refreshment. Another, as late as the fifth century, states that a certain Flaviolus had restored a public fountain which had run dry.² Punic inscriptions are more numerous,³ though nearly all funerary, and filled with the long genealogies beloved by Semitic peoples; and the language seems to have continued in use till the end of the Republic.

The important harbour town of OLBIA, now Terranova, lay on the north-east coast, at the head of a deep gulf flanked by mountains. The position was a strong one, for the mouth was easily blocked, and the town could not readily be attacked by land owing to the ring of mountains which make this Gallura district almost a separate island.

Reference has already been made to the traditional settlement at Olbia of Iolaus with a number of Athenian colonists (a tradition which may reflect

¹ 7541.

² 7542: 'Subductos olim latices patriæque negatos
Restituit populis puro Flaviolus amne.'

³ C. I. S. 144 sq.; Landau, *op. cit.*

Position and History of Olbia

some genuine Greek settlement), and to the defence of the town by a Punic garrison against Scipio in the First Punic War. The district was an unhealthy one, but much corn was grown, and Olbia was one of the chief places for its export to Rome, and the station at which for a time Q. Cicero supervised its despatch.

An inscription describes a citizen as a member of the Palatine tribe, but whether the city as a whole had municipal rights is unknown. It was the terminus of a road from Carales, and of this a number of inscribed milestones have been discovered and copied,¹ showing that it underwent extensive repairs under the supervision of various third-century governors. Being the usual landing-place from Italy, Olbia may have been at times the station of a detachment of the Misenate fleet.²

The city is believed to have been destroyed by the Vandals, and it is not mentioned after the fifth century. The modern epithet Pausania applied to Terranova is due to an identification, for which there is no sufficient warrant, of Olbia with the episcopal see of Fausiana, mentioned by Pope Gregory.

Some important remains both of Punic and Roman Olbia have recently been excavated, and in the neighbourhood have been found a number of Roman villas of some size, on the grounds of which corn was no doubt grown.

Punic tombs are numerous, and contain ornaments

Class. Rev. III. 228, IV. 65. ² *Cf. Eph. Ep.* VIII. 734.

Punic Ornaments—Fortifications

dating from about the fourth century B.C., when the Carthaginians may have occupied the town. One of these is a round bronze mirror with a short handle, one a thin plate of gold worked in a feather design with two sphinxes beneath. A small altar in the form of a truncated cone probably belonged to some Punic sanctuary near the later Roman wall, and it has a third-century Punic inscription recording an offering made to some unnamed divinity by Adon the son of Hannibal.¹

Olbia was evidently strongly fortified in the early republican age, and it is recorded that in 210 the city was powerfully defended.² Portions of the western wall have been excavated, consisting of a double line of fortifications about 20 feet apart, united at intervals by transverse walls, and having rectangular towers, with postern gates within. The outer wall is of rough granite blocks well joined with mortar, the inner and the transverses of small stones. There are portions of an aqueduct, and some hundreds of Roman graves have been discovered, containing lamps with flowers in relief, glass vessels, and numbers of coins.

SULCI, the second city in Sardinia, lay on the island of Plumbea (Isola di S. Antioco), off the south-west coast. The insular position, resembling that of Gades and of Tyre itself, may have recommended it as the site of an early Phœnician factory, a view to some extent borne out by specimens of

¹ *N. S.*, 1911, 229.

² *Liv.* XXVII. 6.

Topography of Sulci

perhaps sixth-century Phœnician art.¹ The strait between the island and the mainland, as well as the Gulf of Palmas, to the south, would afford shelter from northerly winds, and outside, to the north, the Isola di S. Pietro would shelter from the south and west. Sulci was well placed as a refuge for ships travelling from Carales or Africa to Spain, and there must have been harbour works for loading and unloading ships on other points of the island, whence we may explain the different positions assigned to the town by Pliny and Ptolemy. It was the emporium for a large area, rich in grain and pastures, and the island has traces of nuraghi in several places, showing the existence of a prehistoric population which was no doubt cleared out by the Punic settlers. Under the Empire agricultural produce, with lead and copper from the mines, was largely exported.

The ground-plan of the town is now untraceable, but it stood on a rocky height of no great dimensions, rising from the shore. Of Punic Sulci there are few remains, but its probable site is a slope towards the sea, where a large cistern or reservoir of sandstone has been excavated, and near this, on the western slope of the castle hill, some Punic tombs. A few of these may be as old as the fifth century B.C., and, as at Nora, there are sepulchral pillars with relief carving. One of them shows the goddess Tanit, clothed in a short tunic and holding an astral disc and a dove. In another instance an altar

¹ Cf. *N. S.*, 1907, 162.

Punic Tombs and Inscriptions

in the form of a betyle is placed beside her, and there are capitals with characteristic Punic designs, a head carved between the volutes, or an imitation of palm leaves.

A number of cameos, scarabs, seals, and other ornaments, are now in the museum of Cagliari, and the materials of many of them, especially jasper and cornelian, occur in this neighbourhood. The Punic tombs are mostly deep and narrow, of coarser workmanship than those of Tharros or Carales. Some are reached by descending a flight of steps. The corpses were found surrounded by plates, earthenware vases, other vessels, or bronze arms; and there are examples of niches in the wall containing lamps, together with vases, perhaps for oil.

The Punic inscriptions¹ are as usual funereal, but one or two incidentally record gratitude to some deity: 'Monument of Melek Baal, for the lord Baal Hammon, consecrated by Aris . . . because he heard the voice of his words'; 'Bod Esmun, son of Ptah, son of Mahar-baal the scribe.' *Bod* probably means 'part' or 'fraction,' and Esmun is the well-known Phœnician healing god. The son of Bod Esmun was Abd Melcart, whose name incorporates that of the fire-lord of Tyre, Melcarth or Molech.

The Romans united Sulci to the mainland by a bridge, of which parts remain adjoining the present bridge. Stretches of the stone causeway connecting

¹ *C. I. S.* 147 sq.

Roman Tombs—Municipal System

with this, now partly under water, can also be traced. The ancient aqueduct is still in use, and there are foundations of large and fine buildings of the early imperial age, during which much of Sulci was rebuilt. The Roman tombs lie close to the Punic, and in some cases the latter were enlarged and reused. The jewellery and works of art found in them point to a considerable artistic development. One striking cornelian¹ shows a head of Minerva, whose helmet has above it a head of Socrates, and behind it that of the founder of the New Academy, Carneades, while the neck-piece has female faces, perhaps Muses. A fine statue of a youthful warrior of the early Empire, probably once the chief ornament of the forum, has been provisionally identified as Nero Drusus, the brother of Tiberius.²

There are Christian and Jewish catacombs, the former with frescoes of the Good Shepherd, the latter with the seven-branched candlestick; and an inscription refers to a temple of Isis and Serapis,³ the site of which is unknown.

In the republican age Sulci was not yet organized as a Roman town, but stood under *suffetes*, a Punic magistracy.⁴ It was punished by Cæsar for its adhesion to the Pompeian cause, and a century later it is found in possession of a regular municipal constitution. As at Carales, the citizens were enrolled in the Quirine tribe at Rome; *quatuorviri*, a patron, a pontifex, and a flamen of the Augustan

¹ Illus. in Maltzan, p. 192.

² N. S., 1907, 192.

³ 7514.

⁴ 7513.

Position and Constitution of Tharros

worship, are all referred to in inscriptions, and there were local divisions of the citizens called tribes.

Though in the fifth century Sulci was the seat of a bishop,¹ part of the area was probably abandoned in the later Empire. In the Middle Ages the inhabitants migrated to a safer position on the mainland, and the place is now a mere ruin, with the village of S. Antioco on part of the site.

THARROS.—This Punic colony, lying on the west coast, close to the mouth of the Thyrsus, was, like Nora, situated on a peninsula, the point of which was occupied by harbour works and the Punic cemetery. Of the town little remains but sand-covered foundations. The public buildings and houses were used as quarries when, early in the Middle Ages, the people transferred themselves to the more secure site of Othoca, now Oristano, the principal town of Western Sardinia.

At Tharros there is a Byzantine church, S. Giovanni di Sinis, a watch-tower near-by, some cellars and foundations, and a stone gateway bearing the emblem of a lion. No aqueduct has been found, but only a spring of fresh water rising among the sand-dunes. The Punic cemetery, dug in the sandstone, and lying quite apart from the few Roman graves, has yielded a great store of Phœnician and Egyptian antiquities.

Tharros possessed municipal rights under the Romans, and several local officials are commemor-

¹ *Mon. H. G.* III. 1; 73.

Discoveries of Phœnician Ornaments

ated in the Latin inscriptions. One was a *tabularius*, or keeper of the records and registrar for the towns of Tharros and Turre.¹ Another, who had held the offices of local censor (*quinquennalis*) and director of the corn-supply (*quæstor alimentorum*), endowed the town with a reservoir which he filled at his own expense. There were public slaves in the possession of the municipality.² There is one Christian epitaph, in late and barbarous Latin, accompanied, as often in Africa, by the Punic emblems of the horse and palm.³ Two Greek inscriptions, probably before the Roman era, commemorate two Massiliot settlers,⁴ and there are a few Punic,⁵ containing mere lists of names.

The Punic graves, of about the same date as those of Carales, are mostly 7 or 8 feet deep, reached by a vertical pit excavated at one end. Being more remotely situated than the tombs of Carales, they had been less rifled, and the archæological finds of the Punic age at Tharros were of greater interest than in any other part of Sardinia. This is particularly true of the gold and jewelled ornaments discovered in the course of Lord Vernon's excavations in 1851, and the finds of the following years chronicled in Spano's *Bulletino*. Much damage was done to the remaining curiosities by ignorant treasure-seekers, who recklessly melted down gold antiques for the sake of the metal. The smaller ornaments tend to an Egyptian type, but those of greater size

¹ 7951.

² 7903.

³ 7914.

⁴ Kaibel, 609-10.

⁵ C. I. S. 155 sq.

Egyptian Features of the Work

are entirely Phœnician, as also those which belong to the first century of Roman occupation. There are no Egyptian mausolea or hieroglyph epitaphs, but it is clear that the Phœnicians of Sardinia traded extensively with Egypt from the sixth century onwards. Among the ornaments are ear-rings, brooches, armlets, bangles, masks, and a variety of scarabs in glazed earthenware or pebble. Scarabs of earlier date, whether of paste or enamelled, are clearly genuine imports from Egypt; those of rock-crystal, chalcedony, agate, and cornelian, all stones found near Tharros, are apparently local imitations of Egyptian models, often inartistic and capricious. Hieroglyphs, when found at all, are mostly meaningless combinations of symbols. One of these local scarabs shows a crocodile with the face of a pig, evidently due to an artist who had never seen the former animal, accompanied by a bird, perhaps intended for an ibis.

Earthenware and glass objects are fairly common, the latter having a peculiar metallic lustre. Some of the vases of Tharros have figure-work, as representations of a hare or a rabbit on a black ground. Among the amulets the Isis eye, a specific against the evil eye, appears in several tombs.

In some cases special emblems denote the occupation of the deceased. Thus, in the grave of a goldsmith were found miniature tools and appliances, as files, crucible, touchstone, tongs, whetstone, and lumps of gold. One of these occupation symbols is the gold head-band which formed the

Priestly Head-band—Site of Turres

insigne of a Phœnician priest. The relief-work on it displays a mixture of Egyptian and Phœnician attributes. Souls resembling large fish are seen swimming across the stream between life and death, on the brink of which stands the dead man, in form somewhat resembling a mummy. There follows a row of gods, identified as Eshmun-Horus, horned and holding a scourge, Baal Ammon-Serapis (to whom there is a dedication at Sulci), Astarte-Isis with the rattle (sistrum) and crescent, and Anubis, by the figure of a jackal. The Punic lettering is interpreted, 'This is the fillet of Madambaal the seer.'

Finds of amber at Tharros point to some trade with Northern Europe, and there are Rhodian and Italian vases and other earthenware, evidently imported by the Phœnicians.

TURRES LIBYSSONIS, which Pliny names as the only Roman colony in his day, was also called Turris, ad Turrem, and Colonia Julia. It is now Porto Torres, a town lying in a malarial district near the north-western corner of the island. Like the other coast towns, it was at one time in the possession of the Carthaginians; but the Punic finds, such as an amulet of Bes, bronzes of Isis and Osiris, and scarabs of local green stone,¹ are very few, and it was then apparently a mere village.

Its title Colonia Julia suggests a new foundation about the beginning of the Empire, and, as Augustus in the extant record of his exploits claims no colony

¹ Pais, *La S. prima del dominio R.* 341.

Local Constitution of Turres

in Sardinia, the establishment of colonists with citizen rights may have been due to Cæsar himself. Turres was attached to the Colline, the least reputed of the four urban tribes,¹ and, as proved by inscriptions, was closely connected with Ostia, which belonged to the same tribe. Corn was no doubt exported to the harbour town of Rome from the fertile plains which lay behind Turres.

As some of the local offices were filled by freedmen, the Roman population cannot have been large, but Latin inscriptions are fairly plentiful. One relates to works executed in the harbour; others record *duoviri*, quæstors and ædiles, the ordinary magistrates of a colony, augurs, a curator, keepers of the shrine of Augustus, and *seviri Augustales*, or priests dedicated to his cult.² The voting unit was the *curia*, and we read of the twenty-three *curiæ* uniting to set up a statue to Pudentillus, an augur and priest in the imperial temple.³

There is reason to believe that Turres was, like Carales, the head of a *conventus*, or judicial centre for the law business of a number of minor places.⁴ One inscription commemorates the restoration, under the emperor Philip, of a temple of Fortune, a tribunal, a basilica, and six columns, by the governor M. Ulpius Victor, through the agency of a military tribune, Fulvianus, at the public expense.⁵ A Greek inscription relates to a monument to Apollonius, a harper who gave the time to choruses, and

¹ Cf. Cic. *Mil.* IX. 25.

² N. S., 1904, 41.

³ 7953.

⁴ *Pais, Ricerche*, 621.

⁵ 7946.

Existing Remains and Sarcophagi

won a number of victories at public festivals, the only allusion to such competitions in the island.¹

Two martyrs, Gabinus and Crispulus, were traditionally contributed by Turres in the persecution of Diocletian, and a convent dedicated to the former is mentioned.² What was believed to be the body of Gabinus was discovered in the crypt of the cathedral in 1614, after which date he came to be regarded as the chief saint of the north, as Ephisius was of the south. A bishop of Turres is mentioned in a fifth-century list.

The ruins of Turres are still considerable, but it apparently suffered much from earthquake, and a part is now submerged. As with most coast towns, the population retired inland in the Middle Ages, in this case to Sassari, now the chief urban centre for Northern Sardinia. There are some rock tombs, part of a plain aqueduct, traces of baths, and many bronzes and ornaments. In the cathedral of Porto Torres are some Roman sarcophagi with carvings of both pagan and Christian designs. Here are Orpheus and the animals, which include the fabulous hippogriff, Apollo playing the lyre and surrounded by the Muses, and the Good Shepherd with a lamb on the shoulder. Among the twenty-eight pillars which support the roof of the cathedral, the oldest were probably removed from the temple of Fortune mentioned in the inscription. They show a great variety of style and design, being white, grey, or

¹ Kaibel, 611: 'Ἀπολλωνίῳ χοροκιθαριστῇ περιόδονικῃ.

² Greg. *Ep.* IX. 7; cf. *Act. Sanct.*, May 20.

General Characteristics of the Towns

black, of granite, marble, and porphyry, with Corinthian, Roman, or Byzantine characteristics. To some, Christian statues are attached.

In the neighbourhood of the chief Roman buildings is the only Roman bridge remaining in the island, 200 feet long by about 20 feet wide, crossing the river on seven arches.¹ The pavement is of large blocks continued some way beyond the approaches. Between the bridge and the harbour are ruins of an important building, now called Palazzo del Re Barbaro. It is probably the temple of Fortune, and retains some pillars, a staircase, foundations, and part of a decorated vault.²

It will be seen that the Sardinian towns, with the exception of Carales, cannot be said to have any history, and our knowledge of them is derived almost entirely from inscriptions and other archæological finds. While there are no signs of great wealth, they were well provided with public buildings of the ordinary Roman type. Fine building stone was readily procurable, and personal ornaments were elaborate and varied. The population, like that of most Mediterranean coast towns under the Empire, was cosmopolitan, with many Greeks and freedmen. They can, clearly, have had little in common with the mountaineers, whose habits even in the Roman age are probably better reflected in the finds of the nuraghi era than in the amphitheatres and temples of the transformed Punic colonies on the coast.

¹ *Bull. Arch. Sard.* II. 138, III. 129 (illustrated).

² *La Marmora*, pl. 37, 3.

CHAPTER IX

THE LATER EMPIRE

'Stat magni nominis umbra.'—LUCAN.

IN the provincial reform of Diocletian (c. 293), Sardinia and Corsica, which had hitherto been as a rule under a single governor, and were regarded as foreign countries, were placed under the same administration as Italy. Each was ruled by an equestrian *præses*, or civil governor of the lowest rank, with the titles of *egregius* or *perfectissimus*, and they formed part of the Italic diocese. Beside the *præses* stood financial officials, *rationales*, to whom were transferred many of the duties of the governor, so that he became primarily a judicial officer, charged with the supervision of police and the publication of edicts. Over him stood the vicar of the diocese, but there was an ultimate appeal to the prætorian prefect.¹ The list of dignitaries dating from the beginning of the fifth century shows that the *præsides* were still in existence, and that one *rationalis*, under the authority of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, acted for the three provinces of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. No military *dux* is mentioned till after the recovery of

¹ *Cod. Theod.* XI. 30 sq.

References in Theodosian Code

Sardinia from the Vandals in the time of Justinian. It seems to have been left ungarrisoned from the age of Diocletian, and plays no part in the civil wars which attended the break-up of his tetrarchy.

To this period belong a number of rescripts preserved in the *Theodosian Code*, either published by the Sardinian governor at Carales or in other ways relating to the island. Officials were forbidden to seize plough oxen for journeys instead of waiting for the public post.¹ Constantine prohibited the hearing of lawsuits on Sunday, though emancipation and manumission were allowed.² Other regulations refer to the despatch of criminals for punishment at Rome under proper escort,³ and to the checking of the habit by which defendants could evade punishment by bringing groundless charges against their accusers.⁴

An interesting group, dating from the middle of the fourth century, suggests that something of a gold-fever had arisen, attracting treasure-seekers from other parts.⁵ It is true that gold is found in Sardinia, but not in sufficient quantities to repay working. Five *solidi* were to be paid by the master of any ship who took over miners to Sardinia, and governors of neighbouring provinces were ordered to watch for and punish such adventurers, who probably interfered with the genuine lessees, and evaded the payment of State dues. We also hear of persons who rented lead-mines belonging to the

¹ VIII. 5, 1.

² II. 8, 1.

³ IX. 40, 3.

⁴ IX. 1, 2.

⁵ XI. 7, 7, X. 19, 6 and 9.

Earliest Christian Inhabitants

State. If they failed to pay their dues, the emperor ordered that they were not to be beaten or imprisoned, but their property should be distrained on and security taken. An edict of 382,¹ apparently relating to Sardinia, requires that an oppressive governor, Natalis, should be escorted back to the province which he had pillaged, and make fourfold restitution for the wrongs done by himself and his servants. As Natalis is described as a *dux*, who is not otherwise known in this century in Sardinia, and as the order emanated from Constantinople, it is possible that the name of some Asiatic province, such as Isauria, should be substituted for Sardinia. In the same period we have references to an imperial stud of war-horses maintained in the island. A servant of the emperor Valentinian, who was sent to examine some, ventured to exchange them for animals of an inferior breed, and was ordered by his master, who was noted for the severity of his punishments, to be stoned to death.²

Though there are references to Jews in Sardinia as early as the time of Tiberius,³ Christianity was late in arriving and slow in spreading to the interior. Apocryphal legends of early saints and martyrs exist. St. Paul preached in Bonaria, the suburb of Carales, where a Christian cemetery afterwards grew up, in the course of his journey to Spain, and Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch who suffered martyrdom under Trajan, was claimed as a Sardinian. The first trustworthy evidence of the presence of

¹ IX. 27, 3. ² Amm. XXIX. 35. ³ P. 104.

Christian Workers in the Mines

Christians belongs to the end of the second century, and these were only workers in the mines, sent to Sardinia as a punishment.

A curious story occurs in Hippolytus,¹ a priest living near Rome in the age of the Severi. It relates to a certain Callistus, a Christian suspected of Gnostic views, and ill looked on by the orthodox writer. Callistus had been a domestic of Carphorus, a Christian member of the imperial household, and he set up a kind of bank with money deposited by his master and other Christians. These sums he embezzled, and fled from Rome to the coast; but failing to escape he was imprisoned in the capital, and eventually sent by the urban prefect to work in the Sardinian mines. It happened that Marcia, a mistress of the emperor Commodus, favoured the Christians, and, after inquiring of the bishop Victor what believers were then detained in that unhealthy spot, induced the emperor to order their release. In view of the unsatisfactory character of Callistus, Victor refrained from giving his name; but when the eunuch Hyacinthus had conveyed the amnesty to the Sardinian procurator, the whole body, including on his own earnest entreaty Callistus himself, were given their freedom.

It seems to have been a regular custom for the Church at Rome to send relief to their brethren suffering in the mines.² About 235 these were joined by two distinguished members, a bishop

¹ *Ref. Hæv.* IX. 7.

² *Dionys. Cor. ap. Eus. H. E.* IV. 23.

Hippolytus—Early Bishoprics

Pontianus and Hippolytus himself.¹ It is now unknown whether their banishment was due to the hostility of the newly appointed barbarian emperor Maximinus, or to some charge of a non-religious kind brought during the last expedition of Alexander, who was friendly to the Christians. Only death ended the exile of Hippolytus, whose important work against contemporary heresies was discovered in the last century, and who was also very possibly the author of the valuable Muratorian fragment.

The persecution of Diocletian claimed a few Sardinian victims, but not much reliance is to be placed on the particulars of their sufferings.² Luxorius, for example, a soldier who had been converted by the study of the Bible, was put to death at Carales by order of the præses Delasius. On being denounced, he was asked why he had abandoned his military duties and neglected the worship of the gods. He was then put in chains, scourged, and led out to execution. A shrine was afterwards dedicated by his tomb, and an abbey named from him was in existence in the time of Pope Gregory.

Soon after this there begin to be references to some island bishoprics, as Carales and Phausania. The site of the latter, though often identified with Olbia, is uncertain. Simplicius, a bishop of Phausania, is said to have been martyred under Dio-

¹ *Catal. Liber.*; cf. Mommsen, *Über den Chron. von J.* 354, p. 635.

² Cf., e.g., *Act. Sanct.*, May 30 and August 20.

Ecclesiastical Constitution

cletian, and the see is referred to by Gregory as having long remained vacant; but it was temporarily filled on his suggestion. A bishop, Quintanus, and a priest of Carales, were present at the Council of Arles (314), other bishops at the Sardican council (347); and by the time of the Carthaginian council in 484 there are references to five Sardinian bishoprics—Carales, Forum Trajani, Sulci, Turres, and Senaphar.¹ This last place, which is also mentioned by the Byzantine geographer George of Cyprus, is unknown, and it seems that the insecurity of the times in the later Empire led to the drifting of the inhabitants towards the interior, their settlements sometimes proving transitory and not now identifiable. The island stood directly under the See of Rome, and some of the revenues from the Sardinian imperial estates were annexed by Constantine for the support of the Roman basilica of SS. Peter and Marcellinus.² No metropolitan is mentioned till the end of the sixth century, when the incapable Januarius held the rank of archbishop of Carales, with six bishops subject to him.³

As in Spain and Africa, vigorous opposition was shown in the fourth century by the Sardinian Church to the Arian heresy, which was then dominant in the East, and strongly upheld by Constantius, the successor of Constantine. Two islanders headed this resistance: Lucifer, bishop of Carales, and Eusebius, bishop of Vercellæ in

¹ *Mon. Hist. Ger.* III. 1, 73.

² Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.* I. 183.

³ *Greg. Ep.* IX. 8.

Lucifer and Constantius

Northern Italy, both authors of theological works and leading champions of orthodoxy. Only some letters remain of Eusebius, who translated into Latin the commentaries on the Psalms by his greater namesake of Cæsarea; but he is also credited with the preparation of the New Testament manuscript known as the Codex Vercellensis.

Of Lucifer several treatises are extant, mostly dating from the period of his exile, and violently polemical in tone. He is a curious example of one-sided and unreasonable orthodoxy, which when pushed to untenable extremes at last landed him in schism, and set him up as the founder of a small sect of intransigent Catholics.

In 351 Constantius succeeded in suppressing all political opposition in the West, and sought by enforcing in that quarter the Arian views which already prevailed in the Greek provinces, to add a theological to a political uniformity. Strenuous resistance was naturally offered by the Roman see, but Constantius succeeded in procuring the condemnation of Athanasius at the Council of Arles (353). This was followed by the Milanese synod of 355, where Lucifer and his countryman Eusebius were among the papal representatives. Lucifer is referred to by Athanasius as 'true Lucifer, who, in accordance with thy name, bringing the light of truth, didst set it on a stand to shine before all'; and he and his companion showed such determination in their championship of the Nicene Creed that the offended emperor decreed their banishment.

Lucifer's Exile and Writings

Lucifer spent several years in exile in Syria and Egypt, inditing bitter invectives against the Arian tyrant, which were probably never read, and at any rate caused no aggravation of his punishment, which lasted till the accession of Julian (361) led to the release of all exiled bishops. Lucifer's Latin is of a popular kind, displaying little knowledge of classical writers, but drawing much on the early Biblical versions. The style is excited, and the arrangement of topics defective, yet the works have a value as early examples of the hostility felt by Western bishops towards State interference in religion.

'What say you to this, Constantius? You must surely cease saying, "If my conduct were not good, I should not possess the sovereignty so long," when you observe how that other Manasses behaved thus, and reigned for fifty-seven years. And since we have called you a second Manasses, observe how you have all his qualities. He set up idolatry in the House of God; you have done just the same in the temple and shrines of the Lord. He had idols adored, and claimed for himself what was regarded as the Lord's, that afterwards it might be regarded as belonging to idols. All this you, too, have done, you who brought the Arian heresy into the Church, and set up your blasphemy to be adopted as the Catholic faith, ordering the faith written at Nicæa, which we know to be apostolic and evangelical, to be despised. As you have now willed this, so Manasses commanded all idols to be served and God to be abandoned.'

'This being so, what else can I call you, the persecutor of God's house, than a wretch who follows the urging of your demon bandits, whose promptings led you to devise these deeds; through whose agency you gladly go astray, with your sacrilegious thoughts firmly planted in your

The Gildonic War

breast! Follow up, then, your inborn folly. And would that you were content with error and madness in company with your Arian fellow-blasphemers alone! You try to draw us away also into sharing your crimes; you proscribe and rob us. Yet we know this, poverty suffered for Christ's sake is the highest degree of happiness.'¹

During Lucifer's exile a certain reaction against Arianism had already manifested itself in the East. Yet he steadily opposed the admission to the fold even of converted Arians, and thus came to break with his former friends who were more liberally disposed. He was not prevented from returning to Sardinia, but lived at Carales some years longer, and was afterwards worshipped there as a saint. He left a certain following, which gained adherents in Spain and other provinces.

The splendid harbour of Carales continued to be of service to the Empire throughout the fourth century, and was used as a rallying-point for the naval expedition organized by Stilicho to recover the African provinces from the Moorish tyrant Gildo (398). In his unfinished poem on this war, Claudian includes an interesting account of the island and its capital:²

'In form like human footsteps lies an isle
Full wide, by ancient settlers Sardo named,
A land of goodly crops, for one who sails
To Libyan shores or Italy well placed.
And where it turns to Afric strand the soil
Lies level, welcoming the coming fleet.

¹ *Reg. Apost.* IX.; *Moriend. pro D. filio*, X.

² *Bell. Gild.* 507 sq.

Claudian—Vandal Invasion

But where it looks toward the Bear 'tis fierce,
Crag-strewn and stormy, and the sudden blasts
Rave wildly. Here those Frenzied Mountains rise
Whereof the mariner tells tales of woe.
Hence swoops the pestilence on man and beast,
Here noisome vapours menace, and the South
Is lord, for Aquilo is held apart
By mountain ranges. These with storm-toss'd keels
The Romans 'scaped, and by the farther shore
Past all those winding inlets sped along.
Some entered Sulci, which in times of yore
Knew Carthage as her mother, some within
The Olbian haven sought safe anchorage.

'There stands a city, facing Libyan strand,
Which once some mighty Tyrian reared, and turns
A wide face seaward, Carales by name.
Low hills jut forth to check the coming blast,
And make the open sea a sure retreat,
While safe from every wind the pool lies still
Deep in its hollow. Hither th' armament
Speeds, every bark; and, beaching all their craft,
With fleet at rest they wait the zephyr's call.'

Despite the growing weakness of Rome in the generation following the Gildonic war, Sardinia remained undisturbed by the Germanic invaders, who were ill provided with naval forces. Only when the Vandals were firmly planted in Africa did it begin to experience the ravages of the piratical fleet which, built from the woods of Atlas, became the terror of the Western Mediterranean. Shortly after the death of Valentinian III., in 455, in the course of a naval war with the Empire, the Vandal king occupied the island, probably with the intention of cutting off the supply of corn from

Settlement of Moorish Exiles

Italy.¹ In view of the past oppressive taxation, separation from the Empire may not have been altogether unwelcome.

In 468 Sardinia was temporarily recovered by Marcellinus, a Roman general, as part of the great scheme for the reconquest of the West formed by the Eastern emperor Leo. The Vandal fleet was, however, still too strong, and on the failure of the main expedition against Carthage it was abandoned.² Thus, after the lapse of seven centuries, Sardinia was again dependent on Carthage, and so remained till the destruction of the Vandal kingdom by Belisarius, the alienation being probably recognized in the peace made with the emperor Zeno in 476.

Sardinia was used as a place of banishment by the Vandals, as previously by the emperors. Bodies of irreconcilable Moorish rebels were deported,³ both to relieve Africa and to provide a nucleus of opposition to Roman rule. These, after becoming the terror of the southern towns through their predatory exploits, took to the mountains near Carales, probably those in the south-west overlooking the Campidano, and shared with the Ilienses in the east the title of Barbaricini.

¹ Vict. Vit. I. 4; cf. Salv. Gub. D. VI. 68: 'Eversis Sardinia et Sicilia, id est fiscalibus horreis, atque abscissis velut vitalibus venis.'

² Procop. B. Vand. I. 5.

³ *Ib.* II. 13. The distinction between these two classes of Barbaricini is made by Pais (*Riv. di Filol.* VI. 474). There is no Moorish element in the eastern districts, but there are people still called Maureddos round Iglesias, and their clothing differs from that of other islanders.

Catholic Clergy Banished to Sardinia

The Vandals, who had no administrative capacity, and only regarded Sardinia as a strategic point and source of income, confined themselves to the towns; and the ruder inhabitants were allowed to recover an independence which made them troublesome subjects of the Empire at a later date. A regular governor was maintained at Carales by the king, possessing military and judicial authority, and charged with raising the annual revenue. He was supported by a body of officials, but, as in Africa, most of the Roman machinery of local government, including the use of provincial judges, was probably maintained.

Vandal rule in Africa was marked by a fierce persecution of the Catholic Church, which was regarded as favourable to the imperial authority; and though there is no reference to a similar persecution in Sardinia, or to any attempt to enforce the Arian form of worship, the island received from Africa several parties of exiled priests and bishops; and these seem after their arrival to have been left unmolested. The first group were banished in the reign of King Hunneric, being charged with violating the law against Catholic propaganda,¹ and they were followed a few years later by a much larger number, over 200 according to some accounts, exiled by King Thrasamund. Their crime was that they continued to ordain, and to accept sees which the king desired to have left vacant.

Though African learning by the beginning of the

¹ Vict. Vit. II. 7.

Life of Bishop Fulgentius

sixth century had sensibly declined from the days of Cyprian, or even of Augustine, Africa was still the most cultured province in the West; and the exiles produced a distinct development in the intellectual activity of the Sardinian Church, besides guiding it definitely in the direction of monasticism.

Some years before this (461), a Sardinian priest, Hilarus, had already attained to the Papacy, proving himself, like Lucifer, an impassioned champion of orthodoxy; and in 498 another, named Symmachus, gained a like honour, and by gifts of money and clothes, as well as by consolatory letters, did much to relieve the African exiles in his native island. One of these was the bishop of Hippo, who brought over the bones of his predecessor, Augustine, and they remained in Sardinia for some centuries. Another was Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspa, and one of the most remarkable men of his age. The son of a senator of Carthage, he early devoted himself to a monastic life, and founded a cenobitic society in Africa, from which he was promoted to the care of an episcopal see. His literary ability was considerable, and though many of the bishops who shared his exile were older than he, he became, as the biographer calls it, their '*lingua et ingenium*,' and was commissioned by them to write to their absent congregations. At Carales, where he received encouragement from the bishop Primasius, he established a small society of priests, living on monastic principles. Alms

Godas Revolts against the Vandals

were readily distributed, and citizens who wished to hear the Scriptures interpreted or have their differences settled were welcomed, so that the house was described by the biographer as 'the oracle of the Caralitan city.' Later, withdrawing himself from the noise of the town, Fulgentius became, at his own expense, the founder of a regular monastery, on ground granted by Primasius adjoining the church of St. Saturninus. Besides producing several theological works still extant, he did much to encourage an earnest and religious spirit in Sardinia, until the accession of the tolerant Hilderic at Carthage led to his recall.¹

In the reign of the last Vandal king, Gelimer, the governorship of Sardinia was held by Godas, an active and ambitious Goth, who, aspiring to an independent position, withheld the island tribute from his master, and, being supported by a numerous bodyguard, assumed the insignia of royalty. The Eastern emperor Justinian was then preparing for the reconquest of Africa, and he readily entered into negotiations with the rebel chieftain, offering to send a force under Cyril to help him against the Vandals. Before, however, any help arrived, Gelimer had despatched a powerful army and twenty-five ships to Sardinia under his brother Tzazon. Reaching Carales, the Vandals occupied the capital, and put Godas and his guards to death. The Roman commander Cyril, being informed of this,

¹ Vict. Tunn. in *M. H. G.* XI.; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Misc.* 15; Ennod. *Ep.* 14; *Vita Fulgent.* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 65.

Sardinia Reconquered for the Empire

diverted his course to Africa, and co-operated with the main army under Belisarius, which had already won a victory over the Vandals and occupied Carthage.

Gelimer now found himself in the utmost distress. His best troops were isolated in Sardinia, and he sent an urgent message to his brother, calling on him to return at once, and adding that the anger of heaven must have caused the Sardinian revolt at such a crisis. The Vandals, trying to conceal their grief from the islanders, returned to Africa in three days, but they were utterly defeated at Tricamaron by the host of barbarians whom the skill of Belisarius had welded into an army worthy of the ancient days of Rome (533). After this victory Belisarius despatched Cyril to Sardinia, bearing the head of Tzazon, who had fallen in the battle, and accompanied by a strong body of soldiers. At first the islanders, not having yet lost their fear of the Vandals, and uncertain about the reality of the victory, hung back; but on being shown the features of their former conqueror they again professed submission to the Empire. Both Sardinia and Corsica, which had also formed a part of the Vandal dominions, were now reorganized as tributaries of the Byzantine sovereign.¹

The laxity of administration during the recent troubles had permitted the revival of the activity of predatory mountain tribes, to which were now added the bands of Moorish exiles. A special

¹ Procop. *B. Vand.* II. 5.

Civil and Military Reorganization

expedition against them was directed by the able Roman general Solomon, after his successful Moorish campaign in Africa. The emperor Justinian also made additions to the recently published Institutions, regulating the administration of Sardinia. It was replaced under a civil governor, called *præses* or *iudex insulæ*, but by his side was placed a military *dux*, whose duty it was to keep watch on the restless Barbaricini. The positions to be held by his troops, and their numbers, were to be determined by Belisarius, who then held the chief command in Africa; but the size of the general's staff and their rates of pay are minutely laid down by Justinian.¹ At the same time the important inland town of Forum Trajani, standing at the junction of several roads, and commanding the mouth of one of the principal valleys, was rebuilt and fortified, probably as the residence of the *dux*, and Byzantine ruins are still observable.² Other forts erected at the time were designed to bar access to the chief passes through the mountains, a token that internal revolt was now more dreaded than foreign attack. New towns appear in the geographical lists of the age,³ as Chrysopolis and Castrum Taron, perhaps the old Punic Tharros, fortified as a Byzantine military station; and Byzantine architectural remains and inscriptions are fairly common.

The civil governor, since Italy was still in foreign possession, was made subject to the exarch or

¹ *Cod. Just.* I. 27.

² *Procop. Ædif.* VI.

³ *E.g.*, Georg. Cypr. ed. Gelzer, p. 35.

Temporary Gothic Occupation

viceroys of Africa, but there are signs that the *dux* was inclined to encroach on the authority of both the civil and ecclesiastical powers in the island. There were also minor judges for particular districts, probably administering justice in some urban or military centre.

The first occupation proved transitory. The Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy had revived under Tutilas (Totila), who about 551 sent out a naval expedition to reduce both Sardinia and Corsica. This met with little opposition, and the islanders were for a time made tributary to the Gothic monarchy.¹ John, the hero of the poem of Corippus, who then held the chief command in Roman Africa, equipped a fleet and army, and, sailing to Sardinia, began the siege of Carales. The Gothic garrison by a sudden sally killed many of the Romans, and forced the expedition to return to Africa.

The brilliant achievements of the Byzantine general Narses, who overthrew Gothic rule in Italy, resulted in the restoration of both islands to the imperial allegiance (553); and for some centuries longer Sardinia remained a remote, often semi-independent, appanage of the Eastern Empire. The presence of Greek-speaking garrisons and officials led to the introduction of several Greek words into the island dialect; personal names, such as Gregory, Constantine, Demetrius, Nicephorus, Sophia, became common, and there were many churches dedicated to Eastern saints, as Antiochus, Basil,

¹ Procop. *B. Goth.* IV. 24.

Inscriptions of Later Empire

Cecilia, Elena, Lucia, Nicolas. The ground-plans of some of these churches, as S. Niccolò at Donori, with its three naves, eastern apse, large vestibule, and traces of monastic buildings, recall the eastern rite.¹ Many bas-reliefs and other ornaments, with griffins, peacocks and other birds, show clear traces of Byzantine ornamentation. Greek epitaphs and other inscriptions are not infrequent, and Greek formulæ are sometimes expressed in Latin letters.

One of the most interesting inscriptions of the period, in debased Latin, belongs to the reign of Maurice, dating from about 580, and it is cut on the back of a heathen tombstone of much earlier date, which was eventually built into the above-mentioned church of S. Niccolò, not far from Cagliari.² It evidently refers to a maritime place, as it gives a tariff of dues on imports, and may have been set up in some custom-house near the capital. It is conjectured that this was at Elmas, on the lagoon to the west, which then reached farther inland than at present, and was accessible to small ships in ancient times. The dues were no doubt fixed by the governor of the island, and were levied on animals, jars of wine, corn, vegetables, etc.

In place of continuing the narrative further, from the obscure and scanty chronicles of the Middle Ages, it may be worth while to devote a few pages to the letters of Gregory the Great, Pope from 590 to 604, since they do something to illustrate the social and religious condition of the

¹ N. S., 1885, 405.

² *Ib.* 410; *Eph. Ep.* VIII. 721.

Letters of Pope Gregory

island in this age of transition from ancient to modern history.

There was now an archbishop at Carales, with several suffragans in other towns. He was further supported by a *defensor*, a civil official whose duty it was to uphold the rights and privileges of the Roman Church, and exercise jurisdiction over all regular and secular clergy, making periodical reports to the Pope. Much of the island was divided among rich landholders, whose estates were worked by serfs. Other properties belonged to monastic communities, of which there were already several, though in some cases so small as to be contained within the limits of a private house.

These letters illustrate Gregory's missionary zeal, which also led to his despatch of Augustine to convert the English, as well as his devotion to the monastic system. He shows a desire to uphold the rights of the clergy while obliging them to observe proper discipline, and displays a wise toleration towards the Jews, who had long been established in the commercial centres.

One of the earliest of the series urges Hospito, a leading man among the Barbaricini, and a recent convert to Christianity, to further the evangelization of his unhappy fellow-countrymen, who lived 'like beasts that have no understanding,' ignorant of the true God, and worshipping wood and stone. For this purpose two clergy were sent as special deputies by the Pope. Other letters of like purport are addressed to the military *dux* of Sardinia,

Idolatry to be rooted Out

Zabardas, and to the civil governor, Spesindeo, calling on them to render all assistance in the task of converting and baptizing the barbarians and provincials generally. That the civil government showed no great enthusiasm for the missionary work is suggested by a letter to Constantina, wife of the emperor Maurice, complaining of the custom of exacting a tax from idolaters in return for allowing them to continue their old rites. Even after their conversion to Christianity such a tax was still continued; and when the governor was remonstrated with, he had complained that he could not otherwise make up the sum which he had promised to pay for his appointment. A similar exhortation to the island clergy and aristocracy reproaches them with overlooking the idolatry of their serfs. Lay holders are urged by Gregory to assist in the missionaries' labours among their tenants, bishops who retain the services of pagan labourers are to be severely punished by their metropolitan; serfs who cling to their errors ought to be compelled to pay a higher rent, an indirect method of compulsion which does not commend itself to modern notions.

Yet any direct oppression of ecclesiastical serfs, especially by lay superintendents, is reprobated. Such supervisors should be drawn from the ranks of the clergy, and oppressors of the humbler classes should continue amenable to the jurisdiction of the *defensor*. Nor should serfs on church lands be allowed to transfer themselves to private owners, a practice which often resulted in churches being

Oppression by Officials

unable to discharge their dues to the State. All tendency to auspice-taking or witchcraft should be sternly repressed by the archbishop, slaves who thus offended being scourged, freemen imprisoned.

The military *dux* was apt to act oppressively, and had arrogated some of the financial control to himself. He was accused of persecuting and imprisoning the clergy, harassing the poor, and wrongfully withholding monastic property.¹ The heavy expenses of the constant Moorish wars were probably made excuses for these exactions. We also hear² of the despatch to Sardinia of a deacon to inquire, on the Pope's behalf, into the complaints of the landholders as to oppressions on the part of the military governor, which had already been the subject of imperial rescripts. The report of this envoy was to be sent direct to the emperor Maurice, an instance of the protection already afforded by the Church against official exactions.

There are allusions to damages lately caused by Lombard ravages under the direction of their king Agilulf,³ and the bishop is invited to have the walls of Carales well guarded, forts built, and the whole district carefully watched. The garrison had probably been reduced owing to the Moorish wars, and on the occasion referred to the citizens of Carales had successfully repelled the enemy from the shores of their bay. Yet that it should be necessary to charge the archbishop, a feeble old man, with the duty of supervising the defences is a token that the

¹ I. 48 and 61.

² I. 49.

³ IX. 4=598.

Sardinian Jews—Church Government

administration of the Byzantine officials was far from efficient.

Two letters¹ deal with the Jews of Sardinia. Servants of Jews who left their masters and took refuge in a church were to be surrendered, unless they were or were ready to become Christians. The right of Jews to the undisturbed possession of their synagogues is also recognized, though the erection of fresh buildings is prohibited. Thus, Peter, a recent convert to Christianity, had transferred a synagogue at Carales, of which he had the direction, to the Church, and placed in it a cross, a statue of the Virgin, and the white robe used in baptism. These symbols the Pope ordered to be removed, and the place restored to the Jews.

Another group refers more definitely to the management of the island churches and the conduct of the clergy. These, Gregory learned, were liable to be oppressed by lay judges.² And this was partly due to the incompetence of the foolish Januarius, who then filled the metropolitan see of Carales, and to whom a long series of hortatory epistles is addressed. He failed to exert his authority in many directions. Priests who had fallen away from the faith resumed their functions without having been rehabilitated; others made unauthorized excursions to the mainland or to Africa. The church-house for the reception of strangers at Carales was not properly supervised, nor its accounts examined. Januarius had excommuni-

¹ IV. 9, IX. 6.

² IV. 26.

Archbishop Januarius—Monasteries

cated a man who used disrespectful language to himself, and had exacted exorbitant sums for granting land for a grave. He had further signalized himself by going out ploughing before the celebration of Mass on Sunday, and had moved his neighbour's landmark.

In a severe despatch Gregory writes: 'And since we wish to spare your grey hairs, return to your senses at last, old man, and restrain yourself from such levity of manners and perversity of action. My duty should have been to launch the sentence of punishment against you; but since we know your simplicity and your old age, we remain silent for the time.' The Pope, however, excommunicated the abettors of Januarius for two months.

Another series concerns the foundation and administration of monastic communities, which Gregory always had much at heart. The relation between these and the imperial officials was not always a friendly one, and the archbishop himself seems to have had no great liking for such institutions. Januarius is required to exert his authority in effecting the establishment of a monastery for which money had been bequeathed and wrongfully withheld by the heiress at law,¹ to oblige an abbot to preserve discipline among his monks, and to punish a priest who had embezzled money left to a monastery by a devout widow. He is commended for interfering to prevent a house which stood next door to a nunnery from being converted into a

¹ IV. 8.

Condition of Island Nunneries

monastery. Either, says Gregory, the nuns must be removed elsewhere, or the monks must be planted in a deserted monastery outside the town, which would equally fulfil the testator's wish.¹ Nunneries indeed seem to have been in an unsatisfactory state. Nuns had to go about among the villas on the conventual estates to collect rents and dues, a duty which ought to be left to agents appointed by the bishop. Other sisters, disregarding their vows, abandoned the community, and in some cases married.² Many inmates, too, failed to adopt the conventual robe, and, as their status thus became open to doubt, money left by them was in danger of passing away from the society of which they were members. The bishop is bidden to check all such abuses, and in particular to transfer nuns who proved unworthy of confidence to societies where the discipline was stricter.

Gregory exhibits throughout much administrative ability and disinterestedness; he frequently appointed special legates to examine the affairs of particular dioceses, encouraged conferences among the island bishops themselves, and summoned Church officials to Rome for inquiries. When, however, a present of corn was sent by the faithful of Sardinia as a *xenium*, or token of respect, he at once sent back the value of it, ordering the *defensor* to distribute it among the donors and to obtain their receipt.³

The mediæval aspect of the society depicted in

¹ X. 25.

² IV. 27.

³ IX. 2.

Mediaeval Aspect of the Period

these letters must strike everyone. The municipal life of the early Empire is already eclipsed by those great institutions of the Middle Ages, feudal ownership of land and a powerful Church, resting particularly on an extensive monastic system. In spite of many acts of oppression, good influences were at work. There was a systematic relief of the poor. Exactions on the part of governors or landowners could be inquired into and checked. The barbarous mountaineers were recognized as fellow-creatures, and the idolatry which had long lingered among them was in process of disappearance.

CHAPTER X

ARCHITECTURE AND THE ARTS

‘These islands enjoyed none of the fruits of Italian civilization, and remained in the time of Augustus dark spots of barbarism on the skirts of opulence and refinement.’—MERIVALE.

BUILDINGS of the Roman age are seldom well preserved, and present few local features. The most numerous class consists of aqueducts, often carried on arches and bringing water from the mountains of the interior to the towns. Examples occur at Neapolis and Forum Trajani (Fordungianus). The theatre of Nora and the amphitheatre of Carales are referred to in the chapters on the towns, and traces of another amphitheatre exist at Forum Trajani.

Numerous foundations of villas have been excavated, especially in the neighbourhood of Cagliari and in the Campidano. They follow the ordinary Roman plan, but the *atrium* is here developed into a regular courtyard suitable for country life. The various ground-floor rooms open on to it, and it is bordered by a portico on one or more sides, a plan which still prevails in the island. One such villa, in the mining district of Bacu Abis, in the south-

Plan of Villas—Baths

west, has on the left of this court a group of guest-rooms; on the side facing the entrance are family apartments, between which is a chamber with a large doorway, reached by steps, probably the *tablinum*, or room for preserving accounts and documents. This last projects, and it is enclosed by double walls, which suggests that it supported an upper chamber, probably a storeroom or granary. A large room on the right was probably the kitchen, which is still of considerable size in Sardinia, forming the regular living-room of the servants. In some cases there are wine-cellars and storerooms for preserving oil, and usually a series of bathrooms, with a special water-supply introduced through pipes from a reservoir. One room was probably used as a kind of oratory, and dedications occur to the genius of the villa, set up by the work-people on the estate, who lived in neighbouring cottages.

There were several curative thermal establishments, hot springs being numerous in this once volcanic country. By some of them important settlements grew up, as that of *Aquæ Neapolitanæ*, in the west.¹ One of the best preserved of these hot baths lay on the Carales-Olbia road, near Forum Trajani, on the bank of the river Thyrsus.² The chief enclosure was provided with a portico on pilasters, and was surrounded by separate cells with bathing-tubs in stone, and by a group of vessels for collecting the hot water. Other bath-

¹ Cf. *Bull. Arch. Sard.* V. 20.

² Cf. a long article by Taramelli in *N. S.*, 1904, 469.

Public and Private Baths

rooms adjoined, and there was a conduit to bring down cold water, probably from the city aqueduct, to some of the rooms. As the temperature of the spring was naturally about 140°, this must have been acceptable. The hot spring itself was enclosed in a vaulted cell, from which pipes led to the various bathing apartments. There are Latin dedications to the Nymphs, but finds of grotesque statues, apparently representing the Phœnician Cabiri, suggest that the spring was known before Roman times to the Punic settlers of Tharros. Discoveries of Christian tombs show that it remained in favour for many centuries.

In the district of Bonaria (perhaps a corruption of Balnearia) is a bath of great extent and finely ornamented, dating from the early Empire. It is uncertain whether it was public or private, but this part of Carales is known to have had many richly appointed private houses. There is a large rectangular enclosure adorned with mosaics, the two opposite ends terminating in *piscinæ*, or bathing pools, one of which is in the form of an apse. These were roofed, but the hall was probably open, and had a well at the centre. Green marble blocks held together by copper clamps are much used in the building, and other apartments, including an *apodyterium*, adjoin.¹

Frescoes with figure-work are not very common. An interesting rural scene, evidently copied from the everyday life of the villa, occurs on the walls

¹ N. S., 1909, 135.

Heathen and Christian Frescoes

of a country house near Cagliari.¹ There is shown a field of corn in which bare-headed labourers ply their scythes, leaving tall stubble standing. Others are resting, wearing a broad-brimmed *petasus*, and to one a woman hands a large plate, holding in the other hand a ladle dipped in a pot which rests on a stone. Another woman carries a jar on her shoulders. Close by are two-wheeled ox-carts, a countryman with a reaper's basket, and a group measuring grain in a square bushel measure. Some of these pour in the ears which others level with a strickle.

A separate group of frescoes is formed by the decorations of Christian catacombs, consisting chiefly of geometrical patterns, festoons, and flowers, or such symbols as the dove or Good Shepherd. This last design occurs in the Christian tombs at Sulci. In the catacombs of Bonaria, to the south-east of Cagliari, a number of scenes painted on the wall of one of the main chambers recall the Resurrection. One of them shows the figure of Christ, clothed in tunic and pallium, touching Lazarus with a rod; while near by a man wearing a beard, in a wide-sleeved tunic, looks on full of wonder. Another tomb has an illustration, in a good and lifelike style, of the phrase 'fishers of men.' A one-masted vessel is shown near the shore; on deck are the Apostles, garbed as fishermen, some of them casting in nets, in the midst of which two men are swimming. The Lamb is seen approaching from the shore on

¹ N. S., 1878; 114.

Mosaics of Carales

a bridge, and close by is another ship and a whale, while Jonah is also represented giving thanks for his escape. Coins found in these tombs suggest an early fourth-century date.¹

A Jewish catacomb, probably of the same period, on the site of Sulci, has painted on the plaster which covers the rock the seven-branched candlestick, repeated more than once, together with Hebrew and Latin inscriptions.²

The simpler varieties of Mosaic, with geometrical patterns, are not uncommon, but not many examples of figure-work are preserved, owing to the ruinous condition of most Roman houses. Two examples may be taken, both from Cagliari. The first is an Orpheus scene now preserved at Turin,³ probably of the early Empire, and found in the same house as another mosaic of the Labours of Hercules, which was sent away to Spain and lost. Orpheus is shown seated with a robe over his knees, holding an oblong horned lute in his left hand, the plectrum in his right, while a bird on an adjoining shrub turns towards him. Twelve animals form a border, including lion, lioness, gazelle, bear, buffalo, and fox. A specimen still preserved in Sardinia belongs to the bath-house of Bonaria already referred to. It consists of polychrome marble tessellations mixed with blue glass paste, forming an interlacing band. This encloses a series of squares, with the well for supplying the baths at the centre. These squares,

¹ *N. S.*, 1893, 183.

² *Id.*, 1907, 150.

³ *Bull. Arch. Sard.* IV. 161 (illus.).

Examples of Statuary

twenty-five in number, contain flower patterns or scenes recalling the sea or water powers. Thus, we have Cupid with a whip, riding a dolphin; Cupid and a sea-serpent; the fabulous sea-stag swimming; a Nereid on a sea-monster; some goddess on a marine bull; and a fish-centaur with long blue beard and hair. The figure-work, though vigorous, is not equal to the decoration, and shows neglect of detail. Its resemblance to African work of the period suggests the second century A.D. as the probable date of this mosaic.

Several good specimens of statuary and bronze-work of the early Empire remain, and some of the smaller bronzes are of considerable interest, in view of the early development of bronze casting among the Sardinians. Some represent the old heroes whom Greek mythologists chose to associate with the island. Thus, a male figure wearing a flower wreath, and having on his body a number of winged creatures, apparently bees, may be intended for Aristæus,¹ the bee-keeper of the fourth *Georgic*, who introduced agriculture to the islanders. This was found at Oliania, a district noted for honey. Another bronze from Stampace, near Cagliari, shows Hercules standing within an arch formed by inverted cusps, and wearing a wreath of poplar leaves. He holds the club and lion's skin, and on his left arm is a child, probably his son Telephus, whose feet are being licked by the hind which reared him.²

¹ *Bull. Arch. Sard.* I. 65.

² *Ib.* 51.

Figures of Bacchus and Ceres

Among the best examples of stone carving is the statue of Bacchus, a favourite deity in the island in Roman times, found at Cagliari, and apparently once adorning some square. It is over life-size, with slight and elegant figure, and wears the fawn-skin, but the head is destroyed. By the side is a mutilated panther.¹ A Herm from the same place is Janiform, showing the glad and sorrowing Bacchus; and there is an example of an ivy-wreathed Bacchante head, smooth behind, and evidently once attached to a head of the god.² Bacchic scenes are frequent on Sardinian sarcophagi, and examples occur of funereal cippi rounded to resemble the contour of a wine-cask.

Of Ceres there is a fine bronze statue of the second century A.D., from Olbia.³ The goddess holds a patera, a sickle, and a small pig for sacrifice; and she wears a long tunic reaching to the ankles in wavy folds, and above a short vest with girdle. Her hair is held in by a circlet surmounted by a curious head-dress.

Reliefs on sarcophagi are often vigorously carved mythological scenes, but in some cases these were, no doubt, imported from Italy ready worked, with blank spaces left for the names. One of some interest, belonging to the Antonine age, was found at Turres,⁴ and from the presence of a carved panel showing a rebus of the town, a battlemented turret with a diagonal band below, it may be attributed to local

¹ *N. S.*, 1905, 47.

² *Id.*, 1888, 608.

³ *Bull. Arch. Sard.* IV. 177.

⁴ *Id.* IX. 4 (illus.).

Reliefs on Sarcophagi—Jewels

workmanship. It appears to represent a funeral feast in honour of the person commemorated, who wears a dining robe and reclines on a couch worked as a tripod, with tall back and cushions. A number of persons stand in front, holding cups and other utensils, and one who is crowned may represent the master of the feast. A woman lamenting may be the wife of the deceased. At the ends are grotesque gaping masks. Another sarcophagus, from Cagliari, typifies the joys of a future life, and shows a number of youths performing a ceremony. Some are winged, and carry a thyrsus rod, timbrels, a pipe, crook, lyre, flute, or cymbals. One of the figures may represent Psyche.¹ One found at Pauli Gerrei depicts the Muses crowned, surrounding Apollo and Minerva, while figures of a griffin, a bird, and tragic and comic masks, are introduced. Another, of white marble, has the bust of a man in Roman costume, perhaps the person commemorated, surrounded by the figures of the zodiac, forming a medallion which is upheld by a winged genius. By his side is a car driven by Cupid.²

The finest jewellery and personal ornaments date from the Punic age, and these show great skill, not only in the execution, but in the art of colouring metals and the use of filigree. Certain designs remained traditional in the island, and lasted through the whole Roman and mediæval periods, down to comparatively recent times. In the Roman age glass and pebbles were both

¹ *Bull. Arch. Sard.* IV. 151.

² *La Marmora*, pl. 35, 33.

Punic Coinage

finely worked. At Cornus have been found glass funerary urns of great merit, and engraved stones, especially when introduced into rings, have interesting designs. A good specimen is the cornelian, engraved with oxen feeding under a tree, enclosed in a hexagonal ring of silver.¹

The finds of the last century suggest that, while no regular art school existed in Sardinia, and wealth was not very widely diffused, the development of natural resources under the Empire brought comparative affluence to many of the chief centres, and that the upper classes could thus import such ornaments as were beyond the capacity of island artificers.

Compared with that of Sicily, the numismatic output of Sardinia is insignificant, and the dates and origins of the few pieces tentatively attributed to the island are uncertain. Hoards of Punic and Roman coins, extending far into the Byzantine age, are frequently come upon; but they represent the ordinary currency of the capitals, and local mints were few. In the Punic age some colonies are conjectured to have had mints, and some bronze specimens bear, in addition to the ordinary type of Carthage, the female head on the obverse and the horse on the reverse, certain initials, perhaps those of mint towns. Some of these have been thought to refer to Cornus, Bosa, and Sulci, and they correspond to slight differences in the type of head. A gold specimen with the usual head has the un-

¹ La Marmora, pl. 28.

Greek and Roman Coins

common reverse of a bull with a star above, and below a crescent enclosing a disc. This also is believed to be of local workmanship.¹

Another group of coins, both in silver and bronze, about which different opinions exist, is commonly ascribed to Tauromenium in Sicily, from the similarity of design. It has, like the certain coins of that city, a female head, apparently that of a goddess, with ear-rings and a wreath, and on the reverse a grape cluster. The only legend is 'to Sardus,' in Greek letters, sometimes retrograde, and the style suggests about 300 B.C. as the date.² Whether some Sardinian community was allowed by Carthage to use the Tauromenium mint, or whether the issue was made by or for Sardinians transported to Sicily for disaffection, or, again, whether a Sicilian Greek artificer was employed in Sardinia, cannot now be determined.

In Roman times the most interesting example is the second bronze, found somewhat frequently in the island, though rare elsewhere, bearing the name and supposed portrait of Atius Balbus, great-uncle of Augustus and Governor of Sardinia in 59 B.C. On the reverse is the head of a bearded warrior, with a curious crest resembling a cluster of ears of corn, and a spear behind the neck.³ The

¹ Müller, *Numism. de l'anc. Afrique*, pp. 73, 107-9, 127-9.

² Hill, *Coins of Anc. Sic.*, 200-1; Brit. M. Cat., *Tauromenium*, 12-14.

³ Mommsen, *Röm. Münzw.* 667; Brit. M. Cat., *Sicily*, fn.; *Bull. Arch. Sard.* I. 5.

Doubtful Local Coins

legend SARD PATER shows that this represents the patron god of the western Sardinians, and the coin is found chiefly in the south and west, especially about Sulci. Varieties in the size, lettering, and position of the lance, suggest that these coins were struck over a considerable period, and from different moulds. If we can accept the view that the temple of Sardopator on the west coast was the centre of a religious league subsisting under the Romans, we might suppose that it had certain rights of coinage, which would disappear on the establishment of the provincial cult of the emperor at Carales.

A few other specimens, apparently of local workmanship, but probably more of medals than coins, have been found in the interior, but not satisfactorily classed.¹ The chief types are—(1) Male head, with three ears of corn and a spear-point in front; on the reverse a plough of the primitive kind still used in the island. (2) Head with plough beneath; on the reverse a rude tetrastyle temple. The legends consist of series of Latin initials not yet explained.

Of other numismatic finds, one of the most interesting is a set of coins of the Numidian king Juba, in the time of Augustus, discovered near Olbia,² suggesting that trade relations with Africa were still maintained in the early Empire.

¹ Mommsen in *C. I. L. X.* 2, 810; *Bull. Arch. Sard.* I. 74, IX. 17 (where some are attributed to Metalla, a mining centre in the south-west).

² *N. S.*, 1904, 158.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

' Huc dona sacerdos
Cum tulit, et cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit,
Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum
Colloquio.'

VERGIL.

LITERARY evidence for the native religions is very scanty, depending chiefly on a few marvellous stories related by Greek travellers; but the conservative disposition of the islanders, who were still in Pope Gregory's time worshipping 'wood and stones' (the latter, perhaps, the betylic pillars which stood by many of the larger tombs), makes it probable that the rites which characterized the nuraghi civilization still lasted under the Romans. Indeed, as late as the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries rites and popular superstitions prevailed which have analogies with the prehistoric traditions of other Mediterranean lands.

The earliest literary reference is probably the story of the sleeping heroes, identified with the Thespiad founders of the early Greek settlements. Their bodies, we are told, lay uncorrupted in the

Incubation—Water-Cults

tomb in an unnamed part of Sardinia, and by the side of it persons went to sleep who were troubled with the incubus or annoying dreams. This is clearly a trait of the animism which impelled primitive peoples to believe in the semi-divine power of their ancestors. The Greeks, more familiar with 'incubation' in a holy place for the purpose of obtaining divine visions or revelations, inclined to attribute the local custom to this motive. Such a use, which is also recorded of the Punic temple of Eshmun in Sardinia, may no doubt have developed from the earlier.¹

We may next take the slight reference to water-cults contained in the tale of the magic fountains which sprang out in certain places, and not only healed injuries caused by noxious insects, but strengthened fractured bones and removed diseases of the eyes. They were further effective in showing up thieves who submitted to an ordeal. If a suspected thief denied the charge on oath, he bathed his eyes with the water, and if he were innocent he became possessed of clearer vision; if guilty he was struck with blindness. Rain-water was also regarded as especially precious, and it was gathered in reservoirs, which would often be provided naturally by the impervious basaltic soil. Women were to be found who had two pupils in each eye,

¹ Arist. *Nat. Ausc.* XI., and commentaries of Simplicius and Philoponus; Tert. *de Anim.* 49; Rohde in *Rhein. Mus.* 35, 157, and 37, 465; Pettazzoni in *Rendic. Accad. Linc.*, 1910, 88; and Hdt. IV. 172, for a similar custom among the African Nasamones.

Human Victims—The God Sardus

and were capable of destroying a person at whom they looked in a spirit of anger.¹ Even late in the Empire, Sardinian sorcerers and necromancers had some notoriety.²

Other references concern the sacrifice both of captives and old men, who being past work would only burden the tribe, to some god called by the Greeks Cronos or Saturn.³ One might incline to regard the rite as merely a Punic importation, but the story probably represents some fusion of Semitic human sacrifice and the common barbarian custom of getting rid of useless mouths by means devoid of religious significance. There are still dark traditions that women called *accabadore*, 'finishers,' were employed in remote parts as late as the eighteenth century to put dying persons out of their pain by suffocation.⁴

As to the names of native gods, the chief were Sardus, who had an important shrine near Tharros, and whose head figures on the local coinage, and the deity identified with their own Iolaus by the Greeks. Sardus was evidently the eponymous god of some African tribe from which the island took its name, but he belonged primarily to the south and west portions, which had a considerable Liby-Phœnician population. Iolaus represents the god of the Ilienses in the east midland districts, and his name may be connected with the town of Iol in Mauritania. He

¹ Solin. IV. 1, I. 101.

² Amm. XXVIII. 1, 5; Greg. Ep. IX. 65.

³ P. 54.

⁴ Bresciani, II. 207.

Iolaus—Ancestor Worship

was credited with the construction of many of the prehistoric buildings of the island, and brought Dædalus from Sicily to design gymnasia and law-courts. Not only did he civilize the natives, but he reclaimed the country for agriculture and fruit-growing, and his tomb became a centre of worship and the seat of a temple.¹

Strabo² records the native custom of holding festival for several days after a successful marauding expedition, a season sometimes selected by Roman generals for sudden attack. So Cicero,³ when describing how the citizens of Nora left their town uninhabited on the occasion of the *parentalia*, or festival of the dead, adds the words 'according to their custom.' This suggests that the festival differed from the Italian; and, as ancestor-worship played no great part among the Phœnicians, some native rite may have survived among this mixed coast population.

The first source of evidence thus proves very inadequate, and we may now glance at that which may be drawn from usages till lately surviving. One of the most striking is the use of expiatory sacrifices to the shades in order to conjure away diseases, accompanied by nocturnal rites and mystic formulæ, clearly derived from some such animistic theory as that which inspired the sleepers by heroes' graves. A trench was dug beside a graveyard, a hen killed and thrown in, and a large stone

¹ [Arist.] *Mirab. Ausc.* 100; Paus. X. 17; Diod. IV. 29-30; Solin. I. 61. ² V. 2, 7. ³ *Scaur.* VI. 11.

Modern Superstitious Usages

set on it. Incense, salt, etc., were placed on the edge of the opening, and a jargon supposed to incorporate some Punic words was recited, in order to relieve a sick person.¹ Imprecations on those supposed to be the cause of a disease were also held effective. The custom, not so long disused, of 'passing children through the fire' at once recalls the Semitic rites of Syria and Palestine, but may well have an independent origin. Early in spring large fires were lighted in village squares or at cross-roads, and boys had to leap through the middle of them, while flute-players performed a piece called *lionedda*.² In some parts, too, young people still dance round a bonfire on Midsummer Eve, perhaps a remnant of some solar festival.

Another rite till recently in use has analogies to the Greek and Semitic 'gardens of Adonis.' This was the *Comparatico di San Giovanni*, a temporary betrothal of a man and woman in the spring. The latter, on consenting to become the man's *comare* or 'gossip' for the year, took a piece of cork and formed it into a vase in which earth was placed, and a few grains of corn planted. On Midsummer Day, when the seeds had sprouted, a figure in female costume was placed among the blades, and the pair with their friends repaired to a church, against the door of which the vase was broken. A festival ensued, accompanied by song and dance. This is evidently a magical charm to promote fertility, and probably a similar feeling,

¹ Bresciani, II. 192.

² *Id.* II. 264.

Well Temple of Serri

rather than any adaptation of the rites of Mylitta or Astarte, suggested the gathering of earth outside the house of a *femmina scostumata*, and presumably trodden by her, to be placed on the breast of a sick person.¹

The third source of evidence, though more extensive, has not yet led to very definite conclusions; this is the remains of ancient native shrines, together with certain bronze votive offerings which are believed to possess a divine character. Several probably sacred sites have been discovered, but it may suffice to mention the two excavated a few years ago on the plateau of Serri, in a wild part near Mount Gennargentu. The more important is the well-temple in close contiguity to several nuraghi, and evidently belonging to the same community.² There is here a vestibule, enclosed by parallel arms of stone, recalling the front of a giant's tomb, and paved with white limestone. Along its walls are stone benches on which bronze ex-votos were fixed, and by the entrance a stone basin for lustral water. At the end is a short staircase leading to the circular well, which is over 6 feet across, enclosed in strong walls. Above it stood a cupola consisting of a series of stone rings narrowing upwards, and this limestone rotunda must have shown out white for a great distance against the dark rocks and ilices. Near the head

¹ Bresciani, II. 184.

² Taramelli in *N. S.*, 1909, 412; Pettazzoni in *Rendic.*, 1910, 88.

Relics found in Neighbourhood

of the stairs is an altar with libation hole and waste-pipe carried beneath the floor. The steps do not reach to the bottom, and the space below them was probably filled with water, which either trickled through the blocks of stone from outside or was poured in by the priest. In addition to a number of votive figures, there were found here various other offerings: swords, daggers, pins, ivory and amber ornaments, lead (perhaps for attaching the figures to the stone shelf), and a limestone pillar (probably having some ritual significance). The well may have been covered in with wood, the water being used for some ritual, such as the thieves' ordeal mentioned above. Near the shrine are remains of circular dwellings, either priests' houses or shelters for the sick who repaired to the magic fount. The bronzes found were, no doubt, thank-offerings left by persons who had gained health or recovered sight; and it has been suggested that the four-eyed and four-armed figures, found in a few repositories, do not, like some Phœnician¹ and Indian specimens, represent a divine power, but persons whose sight or limbs had received double strength at such shrines.² The figures, indeed, apart from this peculiarity, are entirely normal, depicting hunters, warriors, etc., in their ordinary attire.

A somewhat similar sacred well is that of Sta. Cristina, near Paulilatino,³ consisting of a circular

¹ Cf. Eus. *Præp.* I. 10, 36.

² Cf. above, p. 16.

³ Papers of Br. Sch. of Rome, VI. 164.

Stone Meeting-place of Serri

funnel in limestone, widening below, and having a flight of steps, perhaps used when the water was low. The Sacred River, mentioned by Ptolemy as flowing near the temple of Sardus on the west coast, probably supplied some such well shrine.

Not far off, on the same plateau of Serri, is another building which seems to unite the character of meeting-place and shrine.¹ It is a circular enclosure with paved floor, in which tombs of the Roman age have been dug. Its diameter is about 40 feet, and it has thick walls of unworked basalt mixed with small stones. There is only one entry, with a recess by it, perhaps for lustral water. Round the walls, except where interrupted by an altar group opposite the entry, runs a sedile formed by a projection of the base of the wall, and it is sheltered by a canopy of large slabs protruding from above. The altar was a stone basin retaining traces of carbonized matter, probably sacrifices burnt in a stone furnace still existing; and by it is a sacred pillar with some decorative carving, perhaps an emblem of the deity. A similar emblem occurs in a model of a primitive temple preserved in the Cagliari museum, a square tower with conical central betyle above, and four betylic pillars at the angles.²

Round the base of the altar are pieces of terracotta vases, metal vessels, and animal bones, and

¹ *N. S.*, 1911, 291; *Rendic. l.c.*

² *Cf.* Milani in Hilprecht *Anniv.* Vol., 1909, p. 310, where connections between Sardinian emblems and Asiatic star-worships are suggested.

Sacrificial Altars in Tombs

by the doorway are heaps of ashes. Another find in the area is a bronze bull with large horns; and the frequent appearance of bulls' heads and horns in the primitive art would suggest that the chief god of some tribes was worshipped under a bull form. Punic utensils and coins are preserved in the same enclosure, sufficiently mingled with native objects to indicate that the shrine was still in use after the Phœnician occupation of the lowlands. The sedile may have been for seating the clan elders, the open space outside for humbler tribesmen; and the building could serve both for religious rites, including music and dancing, and for debates or trials.

Resembling the sacrificial altar in this example is a stone trough or cavity, full of carbonized matter and pieces of stone implements, in the floor of the vestibule to one of the *Domus de Gianas*, or rock tombs, at Tonara, to the south-west of Gennargentu; and in one of the tombs at Anghelu Ruju, in the north-west, there is another.¹ These indicate the custom of sacrificing to deceased ancestors. In some nuraghi are traces of domestic altars by the hearth, consisting of three stone blocks.²

Apart from the suggestion as to the bull figures and the four-eyed bronzes, there is little evidence of the form assumed by native deities. A few male figures in bronze are given female breasts, and this childish method of denoting supernatural attributes was used by other primitive peoples to represent semi-divine beings, capable of acting as

¹ *N. S.*, 1911, 385.

² *Mon. Ant.* XIX. 267.

Divine and Priestly Figures

intermediaries between god and man. The figure of Sardus on coins of the Roman age is merely that of a typical crested warrior, and the resemblance of the crest to ears of corn may point to certain fertilizing powers. This was probably the form assumed by the god in the temple of Sardopator in classical times, a form doubtless reproduced in the bronze image which the islanders offered in the Delphic temple.¹

The same cannot be said of the seated figure, supposed to represent Sardus, in a fifteenth-century Turin manuscript.² The elderly man in a chlamys, seated, with long hair, and holding a pen and open book, may be a Greek philosopher or orator, but certainly not the god of a primitive tribe; and the Phœnician, or rather Hebrew, inscription below is an obvious forgery.

A few of the early bronze figures appear to represent priests. Some from Abini wear a long robe, a conical cap, and a necklace of several circular rows of beads covering the upper part of the chest. The feet are bare, the right hand uplifted, while the left holds a sacrificial bowl. A female figure from Nuragus may be a priestess.³ Her attitude is dignified, and she wears a wide mantle, probably of wool, in one piece with the figure. When it was perfect both hands were raised, and there is a tight tunic like a cuirass, extending nearly to the ankles, with traces of two other tunics below. Figures of

¹ Paus. X. 17.

² *Bull. Arch. Sard.* I. 12 (illus.).

³ Pinza, pl. xii. 2.

Traces of Punic Worships

flute-players and dancers occasionally found among other bronzes suggest that music and dancing had a place among the religious rites. The fate of the primitive religion is unknown, but there is no trace of fusion with Roman beliefs and rites, as in other provinces, nor are any gods with double Sard and Roman names recorded.

It is unnecessary to enter in detail into the Punic worships, as they had few local features. They were marked, especially in the earlier period, by an Egyptian colouring, and religious art and symbolism were largely Egyptian. The cult of Eshmun-Æsculapius was well established. Several places, especially near the west coast, took their name from Hercules, the ordinary Roman equivalent of the Tyrian Melcarth, and dedications to Hercules continue common in Roman times.¹

There are traces of the worship of Venus-Astarte of Eryx in Sicily, and the same goddess, who as Tanit was patroness of Carthage, had a shrine, recently excavated, at Nora.² It is square in plan, and rises towards the centre in successive stages on an artificially levelled rock. In the middle of the area is a square platform of small stones, probably used, like the platform in the temple of the same goddess at Byblus in Phœnicia, to support a sacred conical stone or betyle. The enclosing walls seem to have formed the base of a colonnade which adorned the altar. In the neighbourhood

¹ *E.g.*, 7554, 7858.

² Patroni in *Mon. Ant.* XIV. 130.

Carved Punic Columns—Isiac Figures

was found an Ionic capital with the Syrian feature of rude full face and palm branches carved between the volutes, as well as the betyle itself, about 20 inches in height. A vase, perhaps of the fifth century B.C., with a Punic dedication to Tanit under her usual title of Face of Baal, helps to confirm the attribution of the temple.¹

Stelæ, carved pillars placed over Phœnician graves, remain in several cemeteries, as those of Tharros and Nora, where, contrary to the ordinary usage, there are examples of cremation. Many of these are conical or in obelisk form, and usually have figures or emblems cut in relief under a canopy. Sometimes the emblems are solar or lunar; in the later examples betyles appear, gradually assuming an anthropomorphic character, and representing Astarte or one of her emanations.

The firm hold taken on the coast districts by the mixed Phœnician and Egyptian beliefs and symbols facilitated the spread under the Empire of Isiac rites, which were very prevalent in Italy and Southern Spain. Carales was a leading centre. In the present Botanical Gardens a large statue of Isis was found with some stone sphinxes, and close by a dedication by the society of Augustales to some deity, probably Egyptian.² At Sulci the same society restored, in honour of Isis and Serapis, a temple with its statues and ornaments,³ an example

¹ Patroni in *Mon. Ant.* XIV. 162.

² *Rendic. Ac. Linc.*, 1895, 91.

³ 7514; cf. 7948, an Isiac dedication near Castel Sardo.

Roman Worships and Temples

of the association of imperial and Alexandrine worships which is known in other provinces. Votive crocodiles have also been found, and there exists an interesting Sardinian sepulchral urn of white marble, adorned with sphinxes and the horned head of Ammon.¹ These Isiac devotees would be chiefly Greek or Oriental settlers and freedmen, such as the exiles deported by Tiberius; and, though the striking and beautiful ceremonial won the adhesion of many Romans, there is no reason to suppose that the natives were much affected by it.

Of other mystery cults from the East there is little to say. Few Oriental merchants would find it profitable to settle, and no foreign garrisons were stationed, in Sardinia. The isolated dedication at Turre to the North Syrian war-god Jupiter Dolichenus may be due to some discharged soldier.

Of Roman worships, those of Bacchus and Ceres were popular,² perhaps in continuation of native gods of fertility. At Carales the imperial cult was firmly established, and colleges of Augustales occur in other parts also. In country districts various dedications are made to the genius of the villa,³ a mere abstraction with which the slaves or tenants could identify their national god.

Of Roman temples, the best example is that of Antas, in the south-west, not far from Iglesias, belonging to the Antonine age.⁴ The ruins lie

¹ *Bull. Arch. Sard.* III. init. (illus.).

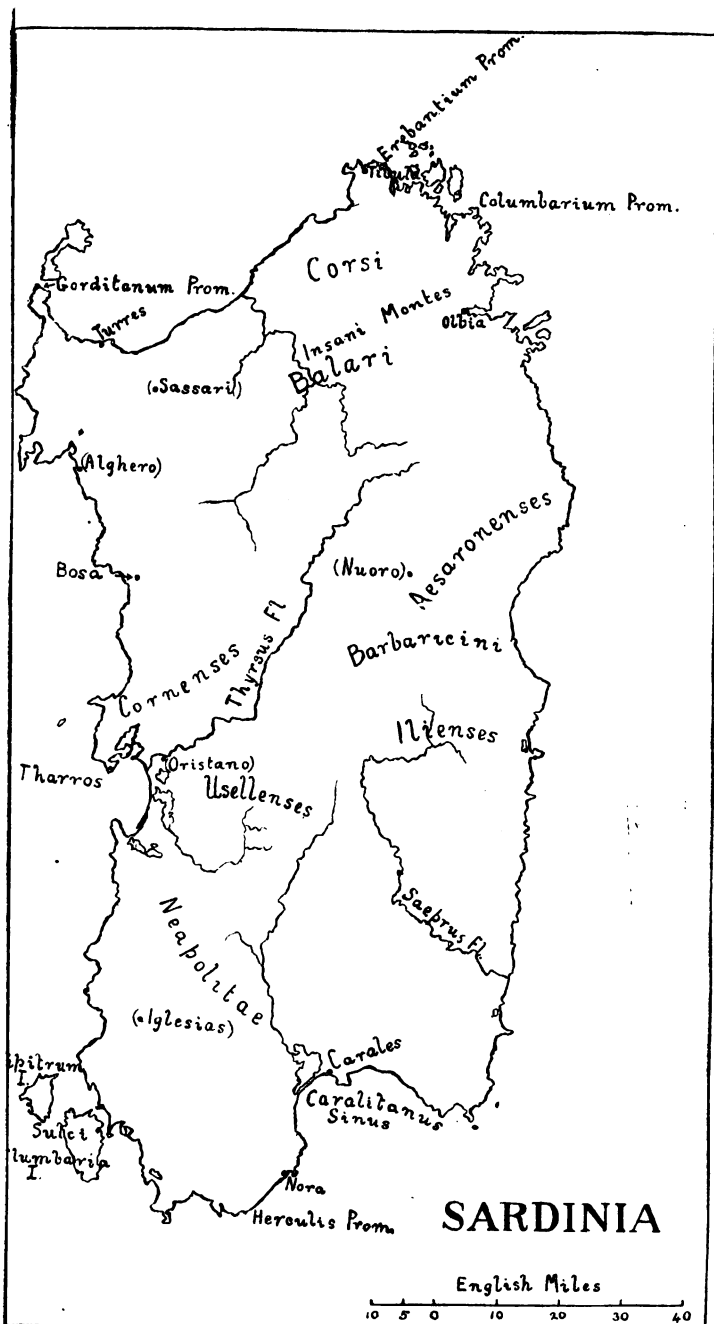
² P. 162.

³ 7947; *N. S.*, 1904, 143.

⁴ Cf. restoration in La Marmora, pl. 36.

Ruined Shrine of Antas

within a forest of oak, and the remains suffice to show that the columns were of the Ionic order, with polished bases and capitals, the shafts and cornice being stuccoed. The tiles of the roof had *antefixæ* with traces of figure-work. The floor had a mosaic of white marble cubes, and the tetrastyle façade was reached by short flights of steps. The Palazzo del Re Barbaro, or ruined temple of Turre, has already been mentioned, and at Neapolis the church of S. Maria de Nabui seems reconstructed from the remains of a Roman temple.



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